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# Role of Management in The Effect on Employee Motivation of Organizational Performance – Hungarian Case Study

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Nowadays it is noticeable about home corporations that ensuring the contentment of employees is a real challenge for the managers, or better said, the sustenance of their motivations. The significance of this subject pertains to that theory, which expresses that performance is the multiplicative product of both motivation and capabilities (read more on this theory in for example Vroom 1968, Klein B. – Klein S. 2008). Namely, achieving outstanding organizational performance becomes possible only in those cases, when employees have a sufficient amount of motivation. Shaping up said motivation is greatly on the shoulders of the management, since if they can manage their underlings effectively, the organization may earn great success. The study presents the results of fresh research. I have conducted a survey about leaders of homeland financial institutions in order to obtain research information about the role of management in creating and maintaining motivation within the employees, and what is its coherence with the organizational performance. My subsequent examination consists of what factors induce contentment, and what causes discontent amongst the employees. I am searching for answers for these considerably complex questions. Based on theories of motivation and attitude, I conducted interviews, the results of which I attempt to summarize in this very study and collate it with the results of similar empirical researches.

## **The outstanding role of the corporate manager**

The highest possible exploitation of possibilities in human resources by corporate leaders is getting a more and more important role within our society. They have recognized that people are not simply mere work tools, but persons owning such great specialized knowledge, and without their satisfactory motivation, it is not possible for any organization to achieve long-term results (see also Mathur G. – Jugdev K. – T. S. Fung 2008 as an example). Namely, the development of one or two products cannot be considered as insurance of gaining a tenacious competitive advantage, if the corporation can not preserve their employees. The management has a great significance on this matter.

Professionals of leadership studies define the essence of leadership in many different ways. According to the viewpoint of the first great expert of this issue, Fayol, leadership is equal and comparable to planning, organizing, directly controlling, coordinating and supervising (Fayol 1916). According to Fiedler (1968), leadership is the process of influencing others for the purpose of finding a common solution to an objective. The wording of Nemes (1998) suggests that leadership is an activity, which orients towards the effective and productive usage of resources to achieve certain goals. Cartwright and Zander (1980) see the secret of leadership in their written summarization about leadership that the leader, surrounding his subordinates, notices the operating functions of key importance. Leadership is the systematical operation of an organization utilizing a scientifically substantiated group of skills

and methods application by the leader, the formal- and informal structure, just as well as increasing the desired amount of effectiveness while assuring the equilibratory state of setting of an objective – progress – organization (quote from Gulyás-Szende, 1984). In our days, we use the term „leadership” in a dual purpose. We may interpret it as an activity, or as a unit within an organization, those people, who can influence others’ behaviour in the given situation (Bakacsi, 2004). In this study, we observe the role of the leaders within the point of view of employee motivation and organizational performance.

### **Definition of the concept of contentment**

Many different definitions exist of contentment about the occupation. The first scientific examinations were performed by Mayo and his colleagues between 1927 and 1932 in Hawthorne experiments. They have determined that even the possibility of telling their opinions have generated contentment amongst employees, and the leaders of the organization have listened to the reason for their discontent. According to Deci's (1975) inner motivation theory, the endeavors of people consist of interior and exterior stimuli, motivations. He theorizes that the execution of an assignment originated from interior motivation can be a lot more productive, and the workers usually do their work with a lot more pleasure. However, if an exterior reward can be expected for performance, the inner motivation shall decrease (Kovács, 1996). Locke describes employee's contentment as a pleasant, positive feeling in his written work from 1976, which originates from the evaluation of his experiences regarding his assignment. Based on the research project of Papp and Perczel (1976), we may also say that the contentment with the work is the conscious representation of those factors, which present themselves as the characteristics of the scope of activities, and which influence the commitment regarding the concrete scope of activity through a conscious reflection. Moreover, the phrasing of Ulrich (1998) emphasizes that in order to reach an employee's contentment, a certain HRM training is required, which observes work progresses, workers, and everyday operative and future strategic objectives at the same time.

### **Data and method**

The subjects of the examination consist of the junior, mid-level and senior executives of banks, insurance companies, real estate savings-offices currently operating in Hungary, from East-Hungary and the capital. During the selection procedure, I applied randomized sampling. During the research, I have prepared structured interviews, by which, I could come to know the opinions of 50 executive people regarding the matter. I have conducted the data collection between July and August of 2018. The examined inquiry issues were pertaining to leadership competencies, motivation, inspiration, performance, and feedback. I have summarized the received results with the help of descriptive statistics.

The analysis of the examined factors has been performed by contracting each and every evaluation of the executives' surveys. During the survey conduction with the executives, I have collected data, which gave me the possibility to take the enquired person's subjective characteristics into account when collocating evaluations and analyses. These data are the following: the enquired person’s assignment, gender, age, previous experiences, and the time he was working for the company. Based on these data, I could establish that among the executives partaking in the research, 16 people were working for 1-5 years at the company, 20 people were working for 5-10 years, 11 people were working for more than 10 years, and the number of people with less than 1 year working time is 3.

### **Results of research**

About the enquired, it can be generally established that they have many years of experience in a senior leadership position before they were applied in their current occupation. Some deviation can be found at the home-savings companies, where it occurred more than one time that employees, who have been working at the organization for years, have been made executives later on. I believe that in some measure, the reason for this comes from the fact that these organizations' structure is much less fixed, they apply less systematic regulation, they are more flexible, and they put much greater emphasis on the further training of the colleagues working there. In most cases (40

people), enquired people reported that the discontent with their current workplace incited them to change, and during the realization, they were motivated by obtaining new knowledge, and the challenges of a leadership activity on different territories.

In view of services and executive levels, financial institutions show a great dispersion regarding the number of employees. While in some areas, only 12 people fall under the coordination of a junior managing director, a general manager may coordinate the work of more than 100 people. Furthermore, more than one responder has reported that the outbreak of the great economic global crisis of 2008 has influenced the fluctuation of workers negatively, however, this problem seems to be settling by now. Based on account of some branch bank executives, the structure of small local organizations has relatively flat build-up, which may originate from the controlling method of previous executives. Vertical levels were increased in the past years, realignment and fluctuation are consecutive. Hierarchic structures can be noted at banks and insurance companies, partially originating from their nature. This fact was consolidated by the executives of several insurance companies during the interview, in their opinion, retaining the chain of command is necessary for regards to subordinate relationships. They, however, experience that no great divide can be witnessed between managers and employees in junior and medium executive levels in everyday working procedures. This, however, presents itself differently in the range of senior executives. In regards to financial services organizations, the abovementioned hierarchic system is less prevalent.

#### *Executive competences*

The persona of leadership plays a significant role in the competitiveness of organizations. Many experts (for example Prentice 1984, Curtis et al., 1989, Allred et al., 1996) have conceived during the years that which are those skills and abilities that a successful leader must own. Amongst the most important skills, empathy, consistency, open-mindedness, flexibility, explicitness, effective problem-solving skill, and brilliant communication skill are mentioned. I believe that the abovementioned skills can be expanded with inner motivation as well, which incites people to achieve additional goals, therefore avoiding burnout. Based on the information gathered during the executive interviews, the prioritization on executive levels is described in the chart below.

Table 1: Skills' occurrences of interview subjects

SKILL	AVERAGE VALUE OF ANSWER (1-5)			DISPERSION (SD)	Par
	BANKS	INSURANCE COMPANIES	ESTATE SAVINGS-OFFICE		
<i>Empathy</i>	2,89	3,12	2,74	0,1563	2,917
<i>Autonomy</i>	2,65	2,45	3,21	0,3217	2,770
<i>Expertise</i>	3,33	3,08	3,16	0,1042	3,190
<i>Consistency</i>	3,24	2,98	3,05	0,1098	3,090
<i>Open-mindedness</i>	2,34	2,11	2,78	0,2780	2,410
<i>Flexibility</i>	2,65	2,47	2,86	0,1594	2,660
<i>Explicitness</i>	2,98	2,32	2,47	0,2825	2,590
<i>Contemplation</i>	3,17	3,21	3,59	0,1893	3,323
<i>Problem-solving</i>	2,74	2,71	2,58	0,0694	2,677
<i>Stress tolerance</i>	3,32	3,11	2,97	0,1438	3,133
<i>Communication</i>	1,81	3,45	3,85	0,8826	3,037
<i>Performance orientation</i>	2,87	3,12	2,63	0,2001	2,873
<i>Emotional intelligence</i>	2,65	2,82	2,58	0,1008	2,683

Source: personal design

During the research, I have experienced that the executives' own confession, the experience is what decides on prioritized attributes. Each executive is outstanding in something, good in something, and average, or even worse can be on lots of aspects. Apart from the weight, and the rate of these, the corporation, the organizational culture, the colleagues and fellow executives, sector of activity, competitors and the market can also define, amongst lots of other things, that someone will be brilliant and praised at one sector, whilst he would cumulate failure after failure if operating in a different area. Furthermore, the leadership style of an executive person also greatly matters. How he conducts himself on planning, organizing, supervising, and motivating. How he pays attention to his employees, what goals and requirements do he establish, how he coordinates, praises, punishes, devises, how he builds up personal relationships with the employees. A great percentage of the enquired people agree with this fact.

The communication of the superior can also affect the contentment of the employees. Madlock (2008) was examining the effect of a leader's communication on the employees' contentment. He distinguished the emotional component of communication, which may influence the emotions of the employees, and the component about assignments, which concerns the concrete work assignments of the employees. The acquired data during the recorded interviews suggests that each financial sector puts different emphasis on this group of questions. While the junior and medium executives of some home-savings companies and insurance companies predicate great significance on the adequate communication's effect on contentment, a percentage of bank executives rarely mention this during their commitment.

#### *Motivation*

When I asked the managers about how they view their role in the motivation of their employees, most of their responses were unanimous, since each enquired executive believes that it has a great role in their employee's motivation. They recognized that guiding, competence, wide scope of view, availability – they can ask a question from someone – the solving and mitigation of partially personal or group problems and tensions is very important. Collective affiliation, disposition in trouble, or cliques forming, exclusion, constant dissension? The result – regardless of its smallness or hugeness – must be corresponded with the work of the entire group by the leader. In this case, everyone has a part in it, and everybody can be pleased about it, and each other. If a leader dispossesses the result, it is regrettable, as it shows there is no motivation behind, but rather whip. In the long run, it is surely harmful to the group, the organization, and the results as well. In a successful organization, everyone can put on, everyone's work is valuable, and everyone has strong and weak sides, which must be acknowledged and introduced within the group, and this is the best way for compensation.

The sample shows that compliment flawlessly is one of the strongest motivating factors within executives working for insurance companies (15 people). This is corroborated by the fact that people, who occupy management positions within this sector, think that in most cases, one or two compliments affect the positive increase of employees' performance in a much bigger degree than the related monetary benefits. Furthermore, it is no wonder that the concept of compliment is mentioned so frequently in specialized literature (more about this, see also Csibi 2006, Revákné 2001 as examples) as the cheapest motivation tool, since it requires no resources at all. In total, the enquired bank executives predicate low motivating effects for punishment (22 people) as opposed to home-savings company executives (13 people), for which the reason could be that both the employees and the executives have higher educational degrees, and perhaps this makes them more sensitive for such urges.

Within the topic of motivation, I would like to introduce the – small amount of – negative factors, which may lead to employees' discontent in the long run. Executives have pointed out that in cases of certain employees, motivation is limited to fulfillment of expectations, the sustention of the job, income and living standard, which affects the organizational performance negatively. Hajdu and Hajdu's research (2014) reports similar results of the subject, during the examination of the factors, which define contentment with work in Europe. Their results show that the tension between the expected and realized value of certain work characteristics can bring serious negative effects with itself. Those, who find high income, the compatibility of a family with workmanship, and the surety of the job important, but they do not receive any of it, will suffer great contentment drawbacks.

During my research, the enquired managers agreed that the fear from the ceasing of a constant and regular income source might cause the appearance of frustration within the workers. Székey (2003) emphasizes that losing a job, and persistent unemployment is a life situation which not only causes financial problems but is also a threat to the person's physical and mental health. In Gallie's (2007) monography it is written that the correlation value between the security of the workplace and the comprehensive contentment of the workers is  $r=0,32$ . Gazioglu's and Tansel's inquiry on the United Kingdom signifies that the workers, who feel secure, are more contented with each and every aspect of the work than those, who constantly afraid of discharge. Therefore we may surmise with a reason that a positive connection exists between the security of the working place and the contentment of the workers. The result of this current research is in accordance with the abovementioned specialized literature

### *Motivation*

Under motivators, we may classify those positive consequences, which are connotations of a certain behavior or activity. Positive consequences motivate the employees of an organization to repeat these countenances and behaviors (Berde, 2003). While early researches emphasized the importance of yearly schedules and bonuses, today, it may be unlikely to maintain the workers' interest even with daily accountabilities or monthly premium payments. The majority of people grow apathetic of the everyday toil and moil a lot quicker than before, and they long for a new workplace. This fact is partially substantiated by the results of the research since the responses received from the branch bank executives corroborate that most of them can motivate their workers only in short-term, they expect towering performance from them under a short time, and continuously look for fresh entrants in the market. This may be the reason why they employ younger and younger generations, who have no experience or expertise whatsoever. The polar opposite of this can be noticed at several other financial organizations, where they have learnt from the mistakes of other companies, and they pay serious attention to the long-term motivations of the employees. Executives of profit-oriented financial corporations are trying to make an effort on motivating the employees' performance in a certain way, which may also be utilized to maximalize the objectives of the organization. One very prevalent method is the introduction of the bonus system above the base wage, which is an important benefit for employees and is mutually profitable for both the company and the employees. A home savings-company executive summarized the advantage of the bonus systems the following way: „The significance of these motivating tools is that they motivate the workers, transmit positive messages about the performance expectations, assists the organizing of a performance-oriented manpower, and while doing this, they also support the realization of the organizational goals.”

### *Performance, feedback*

Nowadays, the importance of performance evaluation within the lives of organizations grew stronger, which originates from the profit-orientation of the companies. As an increment of this phenomenon, the upgrade of manpower became indispensable (Roóz, 2006). It is written in the 2nd issue of „Ergonómia,” the work of Miklós Gazdag (1989) that the experience of several work-psychology-related investigations indicates that the workers' basic demand about receiving adequate feedback regarding their work and results usually remains unappeased. The enquired executives are aware of that evaluation has an extremely high role within working, as it impinges motivational effects on the people. The insufficient evaluation may weaken or hinder the effective performance's fulfillment. In the view of this phenomenon, it has been ascertained during the research that performance evaluation may be viewed as a course of proceedings, which greatly modifies a company's future by shaping the organizational culture continuously through strategic management. Therefore, several mid-level and senior executives put great emphasis on production procedures, which they strive to provide by the establishment of a satisfactory employee community. And when I asked the managers about the significance of the performance evaluation, most frequent answers were „it helps the work of employees”, „allows possibility for the establishment of communication between the workers and the organization”, „it may provide extremely valuable information for the integrated manpower-system and for the business planning”, furthermore, „it aids the realization of the organizational goals”. In favor of the effective realization of the abovementioned, some senior management circles have reported weekly feedbacks, but monthly performance evaluation towards the employees also appears at junior and mid-level classes. The information gathered from said evaluation may serve as an excellent base to make decisions in essential questions, like the remuneration, promotion or relocation of a colleague (Hámori et al., 1998).

Since feedbacks towards the worker has extreme importance, it must also be known individually, how can we create feedbacks to people.

### Summarization

Executives in the leading position of organizations have a decisive role in developing employees' motivation and preserving long-term commitment. During my research, I have researched those leadership roles, which are being predicted as outstanding significance by the controllers of indigenous financial companies, and based on their viewpoints I have estimated which factors contribute the most in the development of employees' contentment. In regards to the results, I have deduced by what priorities and preferences the enquired people are thinking about motivation, and how this affects the performance of the organization.

In the course of the research, it has been established that a „good leader" has a great experience, insight into human nature, and self-control. And with cognizant managing, adequate empathy, and ceaseless learning, he may achieve success with the organization. To develop contentment amongst the workers, it is imperative that the executives allow them a certain degree of self-sufficiency. Among others, this has a significant role because excessive over-regulation can influence the colleagues' creativity and initiative skills negatively. Furthermore, the results of the examination have pointed out that income increasement is a remarkable motivation factor, however, in long-term labour relation, those factors are much more emphatic, which increase organizational commitment. Honorable mentions include the moral appreciation of the employees, enrichment of the scope of their activity, assurance of promotion, and emphasisation of the feeling of their competence. It is important for the executive to consolidate this feeling in them by providing information, the tools necessary to complete their objectives, and the possibility of further learning, and advancement. During the examination, it has been corroborated that the physical and organizational aspects of the working environment – such as job security, working conditions, a payment in par with performance, and the relationship with executives and colleagues – play a very significant role, since the lack of the abovementioned may lead to fluctuation. Financial motivational tools will always be in the forefront, however, in spite of that, future managers must put greater and greater emphasis on the development of personal freedom, and taking the personality of individuals into consideration. The collective accomplishment of these factors may result in a well-performing organization, with contented employees, which fulfills every expectation.

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# Inter-Governmental Conflict Relation in The Nigerian Fourth Republic

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## Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the conflictual relationship between/among the apparatus of government during the fourth Nigerian republic. Data were gathered from secondary sources. It adopts the instrumentalists' view of federalism by interrogating the impact of ethnicity on the allocation of federal finance and establishing the argument on the constitutional basis for revenue distribution with careful examination of the 'imperfect' federation bequeathed to Nigeria at Independence in 1960. This paper, therefore, underscores the conflict emanating from quarters of ethnicity and lopsided nation-state arrangement in Nigeria with the reference point to her fourth republic.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Ethnicity, Fourth Republic, Inter-Government Relation

## INTRODUCTION

Inter-governmental relation is one of the inherent forms of government operations in any given federation. It showcases the relationship between/among the state apparatus in any political system. The success of Nigeria's federal system for effective governance depends on an appropriate division of responsibilities and resources within authorities supported by a sufficient institutional capacity at each of the levels so as to carry out its assigned functions (Tom, 2003). The purpose of this paper is to examine the extent of such capacity by reviewing the ethnic politics, the constitutional basis for revenue generation and statutory allocation so as to understand the governance operation among the state apparatus and institutions during the fourth republic; and as widely noted that conflict is inevitable within and outside the organizational structure. The task of this paper is therefore to examine the conflictual relationship of the apparatus of government during the fourth Nigerian republic.

Conflict is not simply inevitable; rather, it is complex organizations. Conflict is not a breakdown of a cooperative and purposeful system. Rather conflict is central to what an organization is (Ngou, 1989). In 1960, Britain bequeathed to Nigeria an imperfect Federation, consisting of three uneven regions. This lopsided arrangement paved the way for the domination of the federation by the biggest region - (Northern region). This paper adopts the instrumentalist view of federalism. It interrogates the impact of ethnicity on the allocation of federal finance

which was/is still one of the major sources of conflict during the preceding republics up till the current dispensation, thereby establishing the argument on the constitutional basis for revenue distribution and the process of subversion by the ruling party. It examines the various mechanisms employed by the North to appropriate federal patronage for its region at the expense of other regions in the period.

This, therefore, becomes significant to the content of study in the field of intergovernmental relation in an attempt to understand the intricacies involved, structure and patterns of operation among the apparatus of the state on a horizontal basis, as against the vertical relationship that is mostly obtainable in intergovernmental relation. Therefore, this paper underscores the conflict emanating in inter-governmental relation taking the fourth republic as a case study.

## **CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION**

This section clarifies the concept of inter-governmental relation and provides an explanatory scheme for broad two categories, namely: vertical and horizontal inter-governmental relation. On the other hand, it explains the conflict in an organizational context due to its inevitability, as well as the term 'fourth republic.'

### **Inter-governmental Relations**

The prefix 'inter' seems to identify the official relations between governmental institutions. In this regard, a constitution will provide the general guidelines for the creation of the internal structures. Individuals and institutions within any government institution cannot function independently and without considering the functions and activities of others within the same institution. Because of this, all government institutions are characterised by an extensive external network of interdependent vertical and horizontal relations (Dare, 1989).

### **Vertical Inter-governmental Relations**

Government institutions and individuals within these institutions are grouped according to a vertical structure of authority, and at the central government level, the hierarchic structure is that of the president, the legislature, Cabinet or the ministers and the departments. A vertical structure of authority is essential for establishing lines of authority and determining accountability and responsibility. It also further facilitates control to ensure that the policy and decisions of higher authority will be implemented (Ikime, 1985).

### **Horizontal Inter-governmental Relations**

The formal seat of (macro) horizontal inter-governmental relations between apparatus of government either at local, state or federal levels. However, this does not exclude horizontal relations between government departments (on a particular level) since regular discussions are held between departments on matters of mutual interests, such as committees of investigation (Dare, 1989 and Akinboye & Anifowoshe, 1999).

### **Conflict**

A conflict is a form of competitive behaviour involving actual or perceived differences in interests or limited resources. Managers and employees have divergent interests. The same holds true between workers themselves, between departments, and between organizations. In today's business world, as organizations attempt to grow their businesses, the potential for conflict is heightened by increased global competition, a more rapid business pace, and company mergers and restructurings which increase employee competition and job insecurity (Ngou, 1989).

### **Fourth Republic**

Since the inauguration of the Fourth Republic in 1999, what seems observable is a pattern which points to the fact that political elites have not learnt much from the mistakes of the past. The various crises plaguing the major parties and emerging ones and the various inter-party crisis of the defections in the National Assembly, cross carpeting of governors among others are vivid instances of this tendency. Lack of party discipline continues to feature prominently in all the major parties. One of the fallouts of lack of party discipline among party men is factionalization within the parties. The registration of new parties in the preparation of 2007 has raised the

phenomenon of carpet crossing and decamping. This tendency has further oiled "the zero-sumness" of the Nigerian political landscape. This action ended up heating up the polity; a situation that portends dangers to democratic consolidation.

### **FEDERALISM AND GOVERNANCE OPERATION IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**

If party proliferation is an indication of how healthy a nation's democracy is, then Nigeria has not done badly at all. To date, the number of political parties in the country has risen to forty-one (41), up from the thirty (30) that existed in 2003. They range from the serious to the not so serious and the downright comical. Even so, it ought to be a good omen for our young democracy. The more alternative the voters have, the better for the nation (Ifionu, 2006:14). Harmel and Janda (1982) explained: "the democratic political party is a creature of its environment. The most important aspect of the environment is those that shape the expectations and ambitions of the most important people in parties, their office seekers" (Schlesinger, 1985:1152-1153).

Schlesinger, (1966 and 1985) went on to assert that "to understand changes taking place within political parties we must work for a realistic theory; one that accepts these parties as office-seeking conditions. On that premise, I lay out three interacting sets of variables (1). The structure of political opportunities, or the rules for office seeking and the ways they are treated, (2) the party system; or the competitive relations among parties, define the expectations of politicians and thus lead them to create and (3) party organizations, or the collective effort to gain and retain office" (Schlesinger, 1985:1152). Propositions derived from the linkages among these variables allow us to examine changes in Nigerian parties since the fourth republic- (especially after the aborted third term saga).

Lapalombara and Weiner (1966), lapalombara (1974) and Omoruyi (2001) have tried to apply the theories of political development to the emergence of political parties as creatures of systematic political crises. Of all the crises identified in the literature on political development, three of them are critical to the understanding of political parties in the post-military regime. They are the crisis of legitimacy, the crisis of participation and crisis of integration. Omoruyi (2001) goes to state that in the former, scholars of Nigerian political parties (such as Coleman (1960); Sklar (1963); Whitaker (1970) Dudley (1968) and Post and Vickers (1973) among others) would want to know to what extent are the political parties that evolved in 1999 capable of providing alternative order to the military in the minds of Nigerians. This is the legitimacy question, and second is the crisis of integration. Scholars could want to know to what extent political parties that evolved in 1999 have approximated the federal union. This is the political integration question and third, is the crisis of participation. Scholars would also want to know to what extent have the political parties that evolved since 1999 meet the need of those who want to participate in the political process (Omoruyi 2001:2). Omoruyi goes on to posit that only those who are living on this confused state of affairs would tell one what we have in Nigeria since 1999 are political parties. They would have to meet the test set by Lapalombara (1974); that a political party so called, if there is an inter-generational transfer of political affiliation.

There are many studies that link the stability of any democracy to the inter-generation transfer of political affiliation. What would these parties be like in 2007 and 2015? Do Nigerians believe that these political parties would still be there in 2007 or 2015? (Omoruyi, 2001:2). He concludes by positing that "what we have since 1999 in Nigeria as political parties have nothing in common with the political parties of the First, Second and Third Republics. Their composition is fluid and unstable; they can be viewed as an instrument of transition from military to civilian rule and for the future and with the prospect of more parties. They raise more questions than answers to the lingering political problems of Nigeria.

### **ETHNIC POLITICS IN POST COLONIAL NIGERIA**

The resource control/deviation imbroglio has thrown the country's fiscal federalism into political and economic crises fueling in the process inter and intra-ethnic conflicts and occasioned the sudden uprising of different insurgent groups within the Niger/Delta region of the country.

The most contentious issue at the genesis of the present political era in 1999 was the demand for resource control particularly by oil-producing states that constitute the Niger-Delta region. The demand for resource control became unattainable as the federal government resisted the agitation by "all means." However, the agitations have taken several violent dimensions bordering according to Adefulu (2001:80) "on willful sabotage, kidnapping of foreigners working in the oil exploration sector, assassination of security agents and vandalisation of oil pipelines all of which have meant a substantial loss of revenue to the Nigerian state which depends on oil export earnings to finance its varied development projects and alleviate circle of poverty afflicting its teeming population". The agitations for resource control were founded on the obvious long years of neglect of the region despite the nation tapping almost 95% of its revenue earnings from the region.

Socio-economic activities of the people of the zone have suffered abruptly while environmental degradation and health hazards have attended oil exploration activities of multinational companies without adequate infrastructure, qualitative education and human capital development, accessible health care system and environmental renewal as compensations for the immeasurable losses suffered over the years. It was within this context that the Yar' Adua Administration granted the Niger-Delta militants who took to violent protest Amnesty as a panacea for restoring peace within the region and apparently for the federal government to continue to reap from the largesse of oil revenue from the region.

However, how much of peace the Amnesty Programme has brought to the Niger-Delta is another topical issue for a stimulating debate, but that is outside the purview of this paper. The derivation principle which grew out of the agitation for resource control does not go without controversies. For instance, the contestation for the distinction between offshore and onshore oil in the implementation of the 13% derivation allocation to oil producing state generated a lot of heat until the omnibus judgment of the supreme court on 5 April 2002 which declared that the littoral states could not seek control of natural resources located beyond their seaward boundary legally.

The onshore/offshore dichotomy has implication for revenue accruable from derivation on oil hence the fierce and partisan politics it generated at the beginning of the fourth republic. It is in this sense that the oil-producing States are demanding for the restructuring of the Nigerian federation to allow for the practice of true federalism which guarantees states control of resources located within their boundaries. The structural imbalance in wealth distribution coupled with the damage to the ecosystem in the areas makes the demand more compelling.

It is therefore not out of place to demand restructuring of the fiscal arrangements in favour of the region that lays the "Golden egg" considering the unsalutary effect oil exploration activities have had on the economic life of the people in the Niger Delta region and the danger of oil pollution and spillage, environmental degradation etc to which they are exposed (Bello-Imam, 1990:29).

Lastly, and relating to the resource control/derivation palaver is the issue of resource allocation which has generated a lot of heat in the polity from the commencement of the present operational, political dispensation in 1999 till the present moment.

### **CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS FOR REVENUE ALLOCATION IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**

A balance sheet of intergovernmental fiscal relations under successive governments in Nigeria summarizes the fact that the whole processes and arrangements have been and are still marred with problems and conflicts which are structural and operational in nature.

Of course, the problems are generic as they are traceable to the formative years of the country when it was still under full-blown colonialism. Unfortunately, the political elites who inherited the postcolonial Nigerian political structures have surprisingly found it difficult to surmount these challenges and have failed to evolve a truly adaptable pragmatic fiscal arrangement devoid of mundane primordial sentiments that have bedeviled the practice of federalism in Nigeria. While the belief was and is still shared today that in order to maintain law and order,

ensure good governance and provide social amenities, a revenue base must be found, the dynamics experienced in the past. Having explored the historiography of fiscal federalism in Nigeria, it is compelling to delve into the issues of mobilizing and allocating the revenue have always been problematic in Nigeria's federal practice. This is because the jurisdictional powers of raising revenue and the criteria for allocating federally collected revenue have been severally contested by all governmental structures. Previous attempts at finding a suitable revenue allocation formula acceptable to all governmental units have been faulted even right from the colonial era.

### **STATUTORY ALLOCATION OF REVENUE FROM THE DISTRIBUTABLE POOL ACCOUNT 1999 TILL DATE**

Resource allocation which ordinarily is an economic issue has turned into a political agenda because of the high political content contained in its discourse. Arriving at an acceptable formula for sharing federally collected revenue has been problematic and thorny between the three tiers of government. This is because each governmental structure raises the argument of mismatch between responsibilities and revenue. The experimented formula and the sharing principles have witnessed high content of intrigues, power play, sectional interest, and partisan politics. For instance, sharing revenue on the basis of land-mass does not only depict sectional interest but also erroneously shifts development away from the people, thereby making development land-focused instead of being people oriented.

The adopted formula in use presently is allocated in the ratio of 52% to the federal government, 26.7% to states and 20.60% to local governments. This again depicts the ubiquity and dominance of the federal government in the allocation of responsibilities and revenue, subjecting in the process other sub-national governments to the whim and caprices of the over the bloated federal government. The domino tendencies of the federal government became apparent when it unilaterally created the excess crude account from which it draws revenue without appropriate legal frameworks and the approval of other federating units (States) in a system that should ordinarily be independent and co-ordinate.

The development has reinforced the superordinate/subordinate relation in Nigeria's fiscal federalism, and this has had a unsalutary effect on effective inter-governmental relations especially at the vertical level. The evolution of the Nigeria Governor's forum, another instrument of conducting intergovernmental relations in the fourth republic, has only been to challenge the ubiquity and the overbearing powers of the federal government particularly on matters affecting both levels of government. The forum is strongly advocating a significant cut in federal government's powers of the purse in favour of states and local governments who arguably are more visible in state-citizen relation, suggesting therefore that federal revenue should be allocated in the ratio of 35% to the federal, 42% to states and 23% to local governments on the basis of geographical configuration, demographic spread, social development and regional revenue drive ([www.transformation.com](http://www.transformation.com)).

The different contortions Nigeria has witnessed in revenue allocation debate, resource control agitations and jurisdictional allocation of responsibilities and power between the different levels of government have been responsible for static fiscal federalism and the underdevelopment syndrome the naturally endowed but artificially incoherent country and the managerially deficient country has experienced in the fourth republic. This has unprecedentedly increased the demand for political restructuring that can guarantee a true Nigerian federation.

### **CONCLUDING REMARK**

For much of its existence as a subject of economic enquiry, scholarly analysis of economic development did not include an examination of a non-quantifiable variable such as ethnicity. However, it is clear from the foregoing analysis that there is a link between ethnicity and the viability of economic development which is powerfully influential on a region's prospect for development. In the Nigerian federation, ethnicity impacted a great deal on resource allocation in the fourth republic.

The challenge of ethnicity and resource allocation in the Nigerian state had its root in the colonial socio-political and economic structures. The imbalance geographically was apparent, and this was carried over wholly into the post-colonial period which eventually created serious problems of inter-ethnic relations in the first republic. This inter-ethnic hostility was exacerbated by political competition for scarce economic resources. As political parties became custodians of ethnic interests, the inter-ethnic competition for federal revenues became politicized. With the ascendance of PDP to the central government, political power got into her custody, and she used federal power to mobilize and divert federal revenues, infra-structures, industries, public work projects and federal patronage to her ethnic homeland. This politicization was reflected partly in the implementation of the recommendations of Raisman Fiscal Commission as modified in the Republican Constitution's fiscal structure. It was also reflected in the formulation and implementation of the second national development plan which Professor O. Aboyade noted was heavily influenced by political considerations.

In addition, the political statement by the N.C.N.C in reaction to N.P.C.'s monopolization of federal projects and resources in the development plan also gave credence to this. Thus between 1960 and 1966, the unequal access to and competition for resources at the federal level ensured that politics became a dangerous enterprise in which official rules regulating competition for state power and the allocation of state resources were manipulated and used against perceived opponents. Crisis after crisis, the Federal government ruthlessly suppressed the opposition and also used Federal might to ensure that the result of the controversial 1963 census which favoured her region (North) was consented to by relative majority (knowing fully well that it is a potent tool for resource distribution and delimitation of constituencies for elections). Thus, the political muscle of the North, garnered through the Central government to dominate its competitors engendered serious governmental crisis in the Nigerian federation from the first to the current fourth republic.

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# Effectivity of Communication General Election Commission Tangerang City in Socialization About “Kotak Kosong”

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## Abstract

In June 2018 Indonesia conducted the general election of the regional head (pilkada) simultaneously. The interesting thing about pilkada this time is the emergence of the phenomenon of a single candidate in some area. One area that has a single candidate in the city of Tangerang. Voter ballots where there is only a single candidate, the partner is an empty box. Not all societies understand what an empty box is, so socialization is needed for the community to understand. The purpose of this research is to know and analyze the effectiveness of socialization about "empty box" conducted by the General Election Commission (KPU) Tangerang City in Tangerang mayoral election in 2018. This research approach is quantitative. The methods that were used is the survey method with descriptive type. The technique of data retrieval is done through questionnaires distributed to the respondents selected by purposive. The subjects of this study are the people of Tangerang City who have the right to vote which is categorized based on age that is 17 years old until 60 years old. Based on the result of the preliminary survey, it is known that the socialization conducted by KPU-Tangerang has not been effective yet, from 100 respondents obtained 50% result know about the existence of 'kotak kosong' (empty box) while 50% others do not know. Of the respondents who knew about the empty box, 89% were obtained from the Network of Empty Boxes, not from the KPU.

**Keywords:** Effectiveness, Socialization, General Election Commission (KPU), Empty Box

## INTRODUCTION

Elections are a form of political aspiration of the people and the establishment of a democratic milestone. Countries that embrace the democratic system, the general election becomes the main indicator. Democracy in accordance with its meaning is to involve the people actively in determining the direction and political policy of a country.

Indonesia as a democratic country has democratic political consequences that must be implemented. In Indonesia, there are 10 political parties that pass to parliament (kompas.com/2018). Of the ten parties, there are different coalitions in support of candidates in the regional head elections. one of which is the election of the mayor of Tangerang City.

Tangerang mayor candidate is only one partner, Arif Wismansyah and Sachrudin Supported by all parties. This single candidate phenomenon has not been widely known by the Tangerang community as a potential voter. Is the image to be punched just a picture of Arif-Sachrudin's partner? Or there is another picture that can be punched. Because it is the first time, Tangerang people experience such things. For that reason, intensive socialization of the General Election Commission (KPU) of Tangerang City is required to make the democratic party run in accordance with the laws that result in democratic governance.

The duties and working procedures of Commissioner and Secretariat of KPU of Tangerang City are regulated by RI Law Number 15 the Year 2011, regarding the General Election Organizer. Communication between KPU commissioners and various elements of society is needed in order to achieve transparent, accountable, honest election qualities in accordance with the vision and mission and the objectives of democracy. In the implementation of socialization required effective communication.

Communication is said to be effective if people are able to convey what it means. Communication is said to be effective when the stimuli conveyed and intended by the sender or source are closely related to the stimuli captured and understood by the recipient (Mulyana, 2000: 22).

Socialization is the duty and responsibility of KPU as the organizer of the election. Socialization of elections is part of political socialization. According to Tensey & Jackson 2008 Political socialization in the study of political science is actually the same as political education. It is said that because in it there is a broader and more informal understanding, with an emphasis on the importance of its influence, or the power to influence (in Kartika 2016: 47). The political socialization aims to provide political education that shapes and fosters political personality and political awareness, as well as people's political participation. According to Michael Rush and Philip Althoff, political socialization is a process of how to introduce a political system to a person. Not only introduce but also how the person determines his responses and reactions to the existing political phenomena. (in Prihatmoko, 2003: 180).

Socialization is important in order to inform the community about the election procedures, as well as to increase the participation of electoral participants. Communities have the right to channel their voting rights and determine who is worthy of trust in leading the region. Based on the observation of socialization researchers on how to choose if there are only one candidate election participants not yet maximal. This is evidenced by preliminary research on the existence of "*kotak kosong*" (empty box) terms that can also be selected in the general election. Based on interviews that researchers do randomly the results were still many people who do not know about the empty box. The socialization of the "*kotak kosong*" program is actually a program that must be implemented by the KPU if the electoral district has only one candidate pair, but based on the initial survey, the public knows about the empty box from empty boxed network (JKK) which appears spontaneously in socializing the Tangerang City elections 2018 where there is only one single candidate against the "*kotak kosong*".

The Empty Box Network (JKK) is the public response to the phenomenon of the emergence of the Single Candidate Pair in Pemilukada in Tangerang City in 2018. JKK was born on anxiety over the awareness that the election of the Regional Head is a contestation to choose from the many best local sons to be leaders, this is Tangerang City. However, what happened (with a single paslon phenomenon) was not an election, but the people were "forced" to vote because only one Pair of Candidates appeared in the arena of political contestation in Tangerang City. The question asked by the Empty Box Network is whether the appearance of candidate's sole is because of the level of "satisfaction" of society so that society unanimously re-elects *Petahana* (single Paslon), or because there are other things that "hurt democracy." This is what needs a sharper discussion. To explore and search for the "red thread" phenomenon of a single candidate is the Empty Box Network (JKK) born.

Based on the background that has been prepared above it can be drawn identification problems arising from the socialization conducted KPU namely: How effectiveness of communication about the socialization of "kotak kosong" in the community Tangerang City?

The purpose of this study to determine the effectiveness of electoral commissions Tangerang City (KPU) in the socialization of the "kotak kosong" to the community. The significance of this research is to know the effectiveness of communication made by the government in this case the General Elections Commission in conducting socialization as a form of literacy to the public.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### Regional elections

The general election of the regional head or commonly abbreviated as *Pemilukada* or *Pilkada* is the general election to elect regional head and deputy regional head directly in Indonesia by the eligible local population (Arbas, 2012: 31). General Regional Election (*Pilkada*) is political recruitment that is the selection of people against the candidates nominating themselves as Regional Head, either Governor / Vice Governor or Regent / Vice Regent or Mayor / Deputy Mayor.

*Pilkada* is at the same time a process of democracy in which elections are conducted against the regional heads at the provincial, district / city level, within the scope of certain territories undertaken simultaneously throughout Indonesia (<https://www.kajianpustaka.com/2016/11/pemilihan-kepala-daerah-pilkada.htm>).

### Empty Box

The "Empty Box" is a consequence of the emergence of the Election Commission Regulation No. 11 of 2016 which regulates the election of a single candidate in *pasal 11A*, which regulates ballot papers in the election of one candidate pair by containing two columns consisting of one column containing photographs and names of candidate pairs and blank columns that are not pictorial or more popular with the term "empty box". PKPU No.8 Year 2017 also further regulates the socialization of "blank column" in the regional general election which is held with one candidate pair.

In the General Election in 2018, there are a total of 16 districts / cities that organize the election of leaders by presenting only one candidate pair. 3 (three) of them are located in the region of Banten, namely Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency and Lebak Regency (<http://proaksi.co.id/2018/06/26/>).

### The Concept of Political Socialization

Political socialization and political participation are interrelated concepts. According to Maran (Maran, 2001: 135), the meaning of political socialization is a process that allows an individual can recognize the political system, which then determines the nature of his perceptions about politics and his reactions to political phenomena. Relates to political participation that has individual involvement at various levels in a political system.

The definition of "socialization" in the assessment team of the effectiveness of dissemination of information in the context of socializing new ways of voting in the legislative elections is a mechanism of delivering information on voting procedures to the public or voters through various patterns and forms of activities, either directly or indirectly relate to the public or voting rights owners (Mandagi et al, 2009: 3).

Socialization is considered successful if most of the targeted socialization community understands the content of the message delivered by the socialization officer. If socialization is successful, then communication can be called effective. This study tried to measure how much knowledge of the community about "kotak kosong" so it can also know how effective communication made by the general election commission of Tangerang city in socializing it.

### **Communication Effectiveness**

According to Hardjana (2000: 37), effectiveness is about how the recipient to do something with the desired meaning of the sender of the message. Communication effectiveness is the process of delivering a message that is able to achieve the purpose of the content of the message and provide feedback, or reaction so that the message can be conveyed and generate an effective communication. According to Suranto Aw, communication can be said to be effective if, in a communication process, the message conveyed a communicator can be accepted and understood by the communicant, exactly as the communicator wants. (Suranto, 2005)

It could be said the effective communication if people managed to convey what he meant. This is actually a measure of communication effectiveness. Generally speaking, communication is considered effective when the stimuli conveyed and intended by the sender or source are closely related to the stimuli captured and understood by the recipient.

Stewart L. Tubs and Sylvia Moss (in Rachmat, 2001: 13) say that effective communication has at least five things: understanding, pleasure, influence on attitudes, improved relationships, and actions.

The factors of communication effectiveness are

1. Trust
2. Relationships
3. Satisfaction
4. Clarity
5. Balance and consistency
6. The ability of news recipients
7. News sender channels

(Alfin Ahya, academia.edu)

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Types and Research Methods**

The type of this research is descriptive with a quantitative approach. According to Rachmat Kriyantono (2010: 50) "Quantitative Research is research that describes or explains a problem that the results can be generalized. Thus no need to emphasize the depth of data or research. Meanwhile, according to Sugiyono (2008: 8) quantitative approach is defined as a research method based on the philosophy of Positivism, used to examine the population and certain samples, data collection using research instruments, quantitative / statistical data analysis with the aim to test the hypothesis set.

This research method is a survey method. "Surveys are a method of research using questionnaires as their data collection instrument." (Kriyantono, 2006: 60). The research process by survey method is a series of steps that are done in a planned and systematic, mutually supportive, and as a whole is a common thread (Elvinaro, 2010: 53). "This type of descriptive survey is used when researchers want to describe a condition in society, rather than finding out the relationship and influence of the two variables." (Kriyantono, 2006: 61).

### **Subjects and objects of research**

The subjects of this study are the people of Tangerang City who have the right to vote which the researcher categorizes based on age that is aged 17 years to 60 years. While the object in this research is the socialization program about "*kotak kosong*" by KPU Tangerang City.

### **Population and Sample**

#### **Population**

The population is all parts or all members of the object to be observed or researched. The population may be any person, object, object, event or whatever object of the survey (Elvinaro, 2010: 170). The population in this study

is the population of Tangerang City between the ages of 17 years to 60 years which is the List of Permanent Voters (DPT).

Table 1: The population of Tangerang City is categorized by age and gender

Gender	Age	Population
Male	17-60 years	519.069
female	17-60 years	518.300
	Total	1.037.369

Source: KPU Kota Tangerang

Based on data sources from the Tangerang City KPU, the total population in this study amounted to 1,037,369 people.

### Sample

The sample is a collection of research objects only by studying and observing a portion of the collection. The representative part of the population object that we observe is called the sample (Rachmat, 2009: 78). To determine the number of samples used Slovin formula.

$$n = \frac{N}{N(d)^2 + 1}$$

N = population

n = sample

d = precision (degree of accuracy 10%)

1 = constant number

$$n = \frac{1.037.369}{1 + (1.037.369)(0,1)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1.037.369}{10.374,69}$$

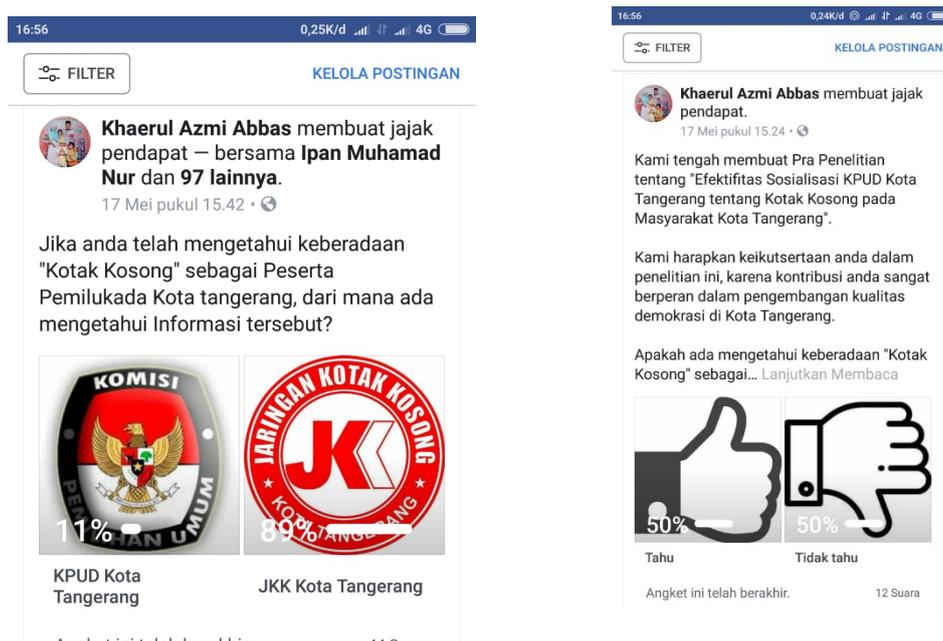
$$n = 99,987$$

Based on the calculation of samples by using Slovin formula obtained results of 99, 987 that researchers rounded to 100. So the sample used in this study as many as 100 people. Sampling technique that researchers use in this study is purposive sampling.

### Research Results and discussion

The survey was conducted by spreading the questionnaire through social media and directly to the respondents. One example of a survey through social media as shown below.

Figure 1



Based on the survey results that have been done can be mapped data based on the identity of respondents as follows:

Table 2. Characteristics of Respondents by age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
17-30	30	30%
31-40	25	25%
41-50	31	31%
51-60	14	14%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3. Respondent characteristics by sex

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
female	35	35%
male	65	65%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 4. Characteristics of respondents by education

Education	Frequency	Percentage
Tidak sekolah	1	1%
SD	4	4%
SMP	21	21%
SMA	52	52%

SARJANA	22	22%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5. Characteristics of Respondents by Occupation

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Ibu Rumah Tangga	20	20%
PNS	10	10%
Swasta	55	55%
Pelajar/Mahasiswa	15	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100%</b>

From the collected data, the highest number of respondents is 41-50 years old with 31%, the second largest number of respondents is 17-30 years by 30%. The smallest number of respondents aged 51-60 years is only 14%. Gender data of respondents, male more than female with the highest education level of respondents, are high school graduates by 52% while based on the most work is a private employee of 55%. Interesting to see the data of respondents above, in terms of education level the highest number of high school graduates and the second highest number is Bachelor. A person with high school and college education will be more open in accepting new knowledge, as well as intellectually established.

#### **Communication Effectiveness**

Communication is called effective when in a communication process, the message conveyed a communicator can be accepted and understood by the communicant, exactly as the communicator wants. The effectiveness of this research would like to see how the views of respondents to communications conducted KPU Tangerang in disseminating about 'empty box' in the election of Tangerang Mayor in elections 2018. The results of data collection on the effectiveness of respondents are as follows.

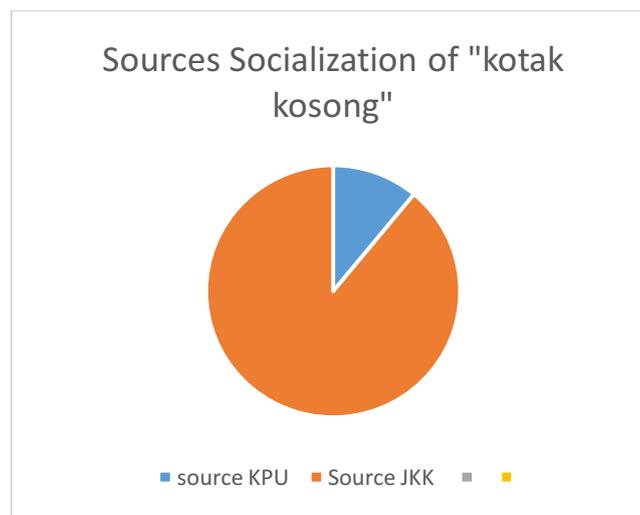
Table 6. respondents' knowledge of "kotak kosong."

Statement	Amount	Percentage
Know	50	50%
Do not know	50	50%
Total	100	100%



Table 7. The acquisition of information resources

Statement	Amount	Percentage
general election commission (KPU)	11	11%
empty box network (JKK)	89	89%
Total	100	100%



Based on data collection, it can be seen that Tangerang people who know and do not know about "kotak kosong" in election 2018 balanced with the percentage of 50% know and 50% do not know. Then in the next statement addressed only to respondents who know where they get information about the "kotak kosong." The result was 11% obtained information from the KPU, and 89% obtained information from the Empty Box Network (JKK).

From the preliminary survey result, it can be said that Tangerang KPU is not effective and not maximal in socializing "kotak kosong" to the community. This is proven by most of Tangerang community knowing "kotak kosong" from JKK as Tangerang 2018 election volunteer, not from KPU that should do. The socialization of the election is very important in order to succeed transparent and functional democracy, but the pilkada case in Tangerang is actually JKK which has more role in the socialization of "kotak kosong."

## CONCLUSION

From the discussion that has been done in this study can be concluded that communication Commission Election Tangerang in disseminating “*kotak kosong*” can be said not effective. This is evidenced by the distribution of initial questionnaires in Tangerang society. The result shows that the respondents know the existence of “*kotak kosong*” not from the socialization of Tangerang Electoral Commission but from Empty Box Network (JKK) that is 89% of respondents. These results become a reference for researchers to further examine the performance of the Tangerang Election Commission of Tangerang in the 2018 election, whether the task of KPU has been implemented with the maximum or not.

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# The Concept and Principles of Personality Measurement in Islam

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## Abstract

This paper aims to identify the concept of personality measurement in Islam by analyzing the principles used to measure the personality of Islamic consumers. Existing personality measurement tools presently come from Western concepts. Western personality measurement tools are formulated according to the views, values and religious beliefs of the Judeo-Christian community. Hence, the cultural values and religious beliefs of Western society influence the concept of personality used in measuring one's personality. The use of Western personality measurement tools is inappropriate in the context of measuring individual Muslim personality. Personality measurement is essentially a measure of the extent of one's commitment and adherence to his or her religious values. To measure the personality of a Muslim, a measurement tool based on Islamic principles is needed. The findings show that the concept of personality measurement tools in Islam should be based on the *tasawur*, which is based on the Qur'an and Hadith. From the *tasawur*, the principles of the Muslim consumer personality, namely, the principles of *tauhid*, *caliph* and *akhlak* (morality), are born. Based on these concepts and principles, the Islamic consumer personality measurement tools can be built for the needs of Muslim individual personality measurement.

**Keywords:** Personality; Muslim Personality Measurement; Islamic Behavior; *Tasawur*, *Tauhid*, *Caliph*, *Akhlak*

## 1. Introduction

The study of empirical personality began in the late 19th century, along with a paradigm shift of psychological knowledge from philosophy to science. Psychology as a field of science began to be recognized when psychologists developed empirical studies using quantitative methods. Thus, in its evolution around 1879, psychology became a science. As part of psychology, personality research has shifted from a philosophical to a more empirical approach. Empirical study typically involves a tool or mold and has many methods of personality measurement built on a statistical approach. Unfortunately, since Christianity is a majority religion of Western society, especially the United States, most of these measurement tools are based on Judeo-Christian approaches. Because studies on other religions have been neglected and unobserved, there are only a limited number of Muslim personality measurement

instruments (Raiya, 2008). On the other hand, Judeo-Christian personality measurement tools reportedly reached 523 scales (Manap et al, 2013). This situation caused some Islamic researchers to develop a tool for measuring Muslim religiosity.

McFarland (1984) and Albelaikhi (1988) state that measurement tools or scales for Christian societies are inappropriate for Muslim societies in studying Islamic psychological aspects. Therefore, it is necessary to renovate or construct a distinct Islamic religious personality measurement tool detached from the framework and structure of Christianity. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the concepts and principles of personality measurement in Islam. More explicitly, the purpose is to identify the concept of personality in Islam and analyze the principles of the Islamic personality that form the basis of the building these measurement tools. The discussion further looks at the validity and reliability of personality measurement in Islam.

## 2. Personality Measurement in Islam

Personality measurements, also called personality assessments, are defined as the assignment of numbers to objects or events through specific procedures to evaluate individual achievement based on the numerical values obtained (Noah, 1998). Psychological measurements have been proven to be more valid and effective for understanding the psychological constructs and individual personality attributes than other measurements. Hogan, Hogan and Roberts (1996) stated that the measurements consisted of a set of systematic procedures assessing human personality traits based on clear rules. To identify one's characteristics or personality traits, personality measurement must be done. Ordinary personality traits are measured through the average number of self-reports, questionnaires for specific traits or individual personality inventories (personality inventory).

The measurement of Islamic personality is the same as the measurement of religiosity. Religiosity, according to Kamruddin (2007), is the level of a believer receiving and carrying out religious beliefs. The author also mentions this religious term with a religious commitment. The measurement of an Islamic personality is equivalent to seeing what God wants from the Muslim individual. The degree of a Muslim's commitment toward practicing the teachings of his or her religion as clearly written in the Qur'an and Hadith can be measured by the proper instruments. These instruments measure the personality of Islam, which is built on the concept and principles of Islamic personality.

## 3. The Concept of Personality in Islam

Building a pure Islamic personality measurement tool must be based on the Qur'an and the Hadith. The concept is also called *tasawur*, derived from the Arabic *sawwara*, and refers to true meaning of something. In this study, *tasawur* is referred to as Islamic *tasawur*. There are some definitions of *tasawur* given by Islamic scholars. Awang (2002) summed up three basic points: Allah SWT as the creator, humans as His being and the last of the universe as His being as well. According to Ahmad (2012), *tasawur* is very important, as it affects a person in all aspects of his or her life.

The basis of Islamic *tasawur* is the fundamental difference between the Islamic life system and other religious life systems (Ahmad, 2010). The foundation of this policy also determines the value: the life outlook that results in various actions that become the philosophy of an individual or society (Al-Edrus, 1993). Thus, as a Muslim, an individual's personality and behavior must be based on Islamic *tasawur*. Islamic *tasawur*, according to Al-Attas (2001), emphasizes the importance of the world and the hereafter (*al-dunya* and *al-akhirah*, respectively). The life of the world is inseparable from the hereafter, as the hereafter is eternal life. Therefore, in Islam, there is no separation between worldly life and the hereafter; when a Muslim does anything in the world, he or she should consider the ultimate goal of the hereafter. However, this does not mean that a Muslim ignores and does not think of worldly aspects because one must go through the world before reaching the hereafter. This is regarded as the essence of being a balanced personality in Islam. The Quran has explained the importance of this balance in personality: "But seek, through that which Allah has given you, the home of the Hereafter; and [yet], do not forget your share of the world. And do good as Allah has done good to you. And desire not corruption in the land. Indeed, Allah does not like corrupters" (Al-Quran: Al-Qashash 28: 77).

#### 4. The Principles of Islamic Personality

The etymology of principle implies the basis, the beginning, the basic rule or the policy that becomes a tree of thought, study and action. According to Praja (1995), the concept of principle is the beginning, the place of departure, the starting point or *al-mabda* (starting place). As a term, principle is the universal truth that exists in Islamic law and becomes the starting point of its teachings; it forms the basis of law and every branch of Islam. Therefore, it can be concluded that principle is the basis of any practice of work.

Islamic personality is based on the principles contained in the Quran and Hadith, which contain guidelines for carrying out various life activities. The exploration of the principles of Islamic personality has been described in previous studies such as that of Krauss et al (2005), Manap (2005), Hamzah (2007), Othman (2008), Fall (2009) and Manap et al. (2013). The principles of Islamic personality in previous studies are illustrated in Table 1. The researchers of the present study argue that the fated principle is pure Islam without the influence of Western approaches or non-Islamic religions, 5-D (Glock and Stark, 1962) or intrinsic-extrinsic approach (Allport and Ross, 1967). However, the authors argue that only the concepts expressed by Krauss et al. (2005), Hamdani (2000) and Ilyas (1992) are purely Islamic without being influenced by Judeo-Christianity or other religious approaches, an opinion similar to the one expressed by Rahmawijaya (2013).

Table 1. Principles of Personality in Islamic Views from Previous Studies

Authors	Principles of Personality	Research Objective
Krauss et al (2005)	1. <i>Tauhid, Aqidah Islamiyyah</i> and the Pillars of Faith	To build an inventory to measure Muslim religious personality and its impact on nation building.
Fall (2008)	1. <i>Caliph</i> 2. <i>Khalq</i> and <i>Fitrah</i> 3. <i>Spirit</i> (Al-Roh)	To build a Muslim personality scale based on the dimensions and constructs given by the Qur'an.
Othman (2008)	1. <i>Tauhid</i> , 2. <i>Aqidah</i>	To build a Muslim personality measurement tool based on the Al-Quran and Sunnah named as Ummatic Personality Inventory.
Hamdani (2000)	1. Faith and trust 2. Human nature	To build a personality measurement tool of religiosity and to be a factor in allocating one's time.
Ilyas (1992)	1. <i>Tauhid</i> 2. <i>Taqwa</i>	To build a model of religious personality measurement derived from the Quran and Hadith.

Krauss et al. (2005) has built an instrument for measuring the Muslim religious personality, which he calls the Muslim Religiosity-Personality Inventory (MRPI). The MRPI is considered the most advanced method and has been used in several studies, especially in relation to national development, human capital and the level of religiosity among youths in Malaysia. The concept of MRPI is to measure *tauhid* (monotheism), the existence of the awareness of Allah SWT, as manifested in one's daily behavior (mahdah worship and general worship). Meanwhile, Fall (2009) sets out three principles in his study of *caliph*, *khalq*, *fitrah* and the Spirit. Othman (2008) mentions the principles of tauhid and faith as the foundation of worship, trust and knowledge.

Hamdani (2000) considers faith, belief and human nature the principles of Islamic personality, while Ilyas (1992) considers *tauhid* and piety the principle of Islamic personality. When the principles discussed in the previous studies are more closely examined, it can be concluded that only two principles of Islamic personality have been revealed i.e., the principle of *tauhid* by Krauss et al. (2005), Othman (2008), Hamdani (2000) and Ilyas (1992) and caliph by Fall (2009). *Khalq* and *fitrah* form the nature of man, while the Spirit is one of the components in the structure of the Islamic personality that results in such behavior. *Taqwa* is the consequence when the principles of *tauhid* and caliph are well executed. *Taqwa* is not a principle that stands alone.

The two principles that were proposed by the previous researchers, *tauhid* and caliph in Krauss et al. (2005), Othman (2008), and Hamdani (2000), Ilyas (1992) and Fall (2009), have been identified in Islamic personality. The author of this current work provides an additional and inseparable principle in Islamic personality, namely, that of morality (*akhlaq*). The combination of this principle with those from the previous research form the importance of a noble character in the Muslim consumer's personality, which, as previously stated, must be based on the principles outlined in the Quran and Hadith.

#### 4.1 *Tauhid* Principle (Monotheism)

The word *tauhid* comes from Arabic and is a *masdar* (basic word) from the word *wahhada-yuwahhidu-tauhid*, which means to insist on and acknowledge the oneness of Allah SWT. *Tauhid* is interpreted as absolute belief in Allah SWT, that Allah SWT is one; no other God than Allah SWT, the pillar of Islam, is worthy to be worshiped. The principle of *tauhid* is the belief that Allah SWT alone creates creatures and the universe. According to Shari'ah, *tauhid* insists on Allah SWT with something specific to Him, covering *sububiyya*, *uluhiyah* and *al-asma'ul* nature (Al-Utsaimin, 2003). As a consequence of the monotheistic value, a Muslim worships and seeks guidance from Allah SWT alone (Ibn-Katsir, 1999).

Awareness of the existence of Allah SWT is the basis or departing point for the personality of Islam (Al-Faruqi, 1992; El Azayem and Zari, 1994). Next, the principles of Islamic personality will be fully explained. The effect of a Muslim adhering to the principle of *tauhid* will be seen in his or her behavior. As stated by Imam Al-Ghazali, the orientation and purpose of human life is God. Therefore, the ultimate goal of human life is to achieve a situation where nothing else is visible except Allah SWT (Nurbakhsy, 2000).

#### 4.2. *Caliphate* Principle

The word caliph is mentioned 10 times in the Quran. This term refers to those who come after you. The above fact also implies that the caliph is the Prophet of Adam because the following verse states that "He taught Adam the names of all things." The verse does not explain in detail what is meant by the caliph, but in Surah Al-An'am (6): 165, Allah SWT mentions the *khalaf* as a plural of caliph, which means the ruler. *Khawif*, another plural of caliph, has a different meaning, namely, those who are left behind or are useless. The word *khawlif* is mentioned twice in the Quran (Yusuf, 2013).

Rashid (2005) states that apart from fulfilling the mission to worship Allah SWT, humans were also created to carry out creative and critical tasks on earth. Human beings are given a trust, a heavy responsibility that cannot be borne by other creatures of Allah SWT. According to Ansari (2008), the task not only involves mere worship and prayer but also involves the building of personality in every dimension. This includes the implementation of a pious society where all humans can live with love, justice and wisdom and can explore the miracles of nature to achieve the status of caliph and understand the greatness and majesty of Allah SWT. All worship according to Baharuddin (2007) is evidence of human self-compliance as the caliph.

#### 4.3. *Akhlaq* (Morality) Principles

Krauss et al. (2005) say that the main construct in Muslim personality is the Moral Islamiah, as a manifestation of *tauhid*. The personality of a Muslim consumer not only includes the question of faith and ritual worship but also includes moral aspects. According to Salleh (2002), *tauhid* must be integrated with other *fardhu ain* knowledge i.e., *fiqh* and *tasawuf*. If *tauhid* emphasizes the matter of faith, the principle of the caliphate also requires man to worship Allah SWY as his caliph.

The two previous principles (*tauhid* and caliph) emphasize human contact with Allah SWT. Moral principles, on the other hand, emphasize human relationships with each other. Nevertheless, this characteristic is a manifestation of *tauhid*. The main characteristic of Islamic behavior is closely related to the nature and the attributes of Allah SWT

(Din, 1991; Nik Pa, 1999; Hamzah, 2007). Therefore, it can be seen that *tauhid* and *akhlaq* are interconnected. The deterioration of *akhlaq* marks the lack of *tauhid* values, and vice versa.

### 5. Validity and Reliability of Personality Measurement

Only Allah SWT is the most entitled to measure the level of one's faith and courtesy. These measurements cover aspects of Islam, faith and courtesy. Although the aspects of Islam, faith and courtesy are most accurately measured by Allah SWT, the manifestation of Islam, faith and courtesy illustrated in the understanding of religion and measured through the behavior of a Muslim is something that can be measured by humans. Hence, the present measurement of Muslim personalities using references from Islamic concepts is comprehensive and fairly authentic (Manap, 2005).

In the context of psychological measurement tools, individual religiosity can only be measured through the items listed in the tool when the individual explains his or her perception of something, expresses his or her attitude or confirms his or her behavior in writing. However, if the individual does not properly respond to the revelations given, his or her hidden thoughts cannot be measured. The measurement tool measures only what the individual reveals (Manap et al. 2013). Frequently asked questions from a number of circles include how religiosity and personality can be measured. Religiosity in Muslim personalities is something that can be measured by considering the various aspects. Manap et al. (2013) have at least seven principles to be followed to ensure that the tool is consistent with the teachings of Islam and can measure the desired attributes. First, the measurement of religiosity from an Islamic perspective is based on the aspect of being realized. Second, while the measurement of religiosity can be made by the tool, the real value and most accurate measurement of one's self or group is made by Allah SWT. Third, the measurement of religiosity from an Islamic perspective is a manifestation of faith, Islam and courtesy. Fourth, faith needs to be proven in practice. Fifth, the appreciation of the perfect Islamic Shari'ah creates noble character. Sixth, the symbols associated with religiosity do not necessarily have the same interpretation by different individuals. Seventh, the standard of religiosity measurement from an Islamic perspective is the Qur'an and Al-Sunnah.

### 6. Conclusion

The concept of personality measurement in Islam is essentially to measure the level of religiosity of a Muslim. For that reason, Islamic personality measurement tools are based on the principles of the *tasawur* based on the Qur'an and the Hadith. The construction of personality measurement tools must be based on the principles of *tauhid*, *caliph* and *akhlaq* that embody relationships with Allah, man and nature. The most appropriate measurement is from Allah SWT because He is the All-Knowing of what is implied and explicit in humanity. Nonetheless, the measurement of human personality by humans themselves is possible and can be done according to what the individual is exposed to.

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# Transnational Ideologies, Violent Conflict, and Pashtun Social Identity

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## Abstract

The Pashtun borderland has assumed enormous international political significance in the wake of 9/11. However, the Pashtun inhabitants of the area continue to be profoundly impacted by the on-going conflict in the region. The conflict has reconfigured the whole fabric of the socio-cultural life of its inhabitants. While some scholastic attempts have been made to address the socio-dynamics of the conflict, detailed accounts of the impacts of the conflict on Pashtun social identity 'Pashtunwali' remain scarce. This study aims to investigate how the violent conflict in the region has changed the Pashtun socio-cultural system of "Pashtunwali" including, for example, Jirga, Melmastia and Hujra. This socio-cultural system has, in the past, played a crucial role in conflict resolution and sustaining peace in society. Field data was gathered in Pakistan's tribal areas and in selected urban areas through semi-structured interviews and participant observation with local and key respondents. The study finds that under the influence of transnational ideologies, militants incorporated religiosity into the secular culture of Pashtunwali which, in turn, has significantly impacted the socio-cultural life of the tribal people.

**Keywords:** Al-Qaida, Militants, Conflict, Transnational Ideologies, Pashtunwali

## 1. Introduction

The US attack on Afghanistan spurred an influx of foreign militants into the tribal areas through a porous border. With the assistance of local supporters, who had developed a symbiotic relationship during the Afghan Jihad, the militants were directed and guided to safe places. Tribal areas became the home of transnational terrorist organizations (Rashid, 2009) where they established a safe haven in a rugged mountainous terrain which provided them a strong base. The Pakistani policy of denial failed due to unsurmountable pressure on Pervez Musharraf by the international community to target the safe havens of militants in tribal areas. Consequently, the deployment of Pakistani troops opened a Pandora's Box that engulfed the whole region. Since then, the region has become the site of intense conflict between the Pakistani military and militants. Where the conflict has brought many overt challenges to the tribal communities, there seems a silent transformation at play in the overall character of tribal life.

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The conflict has deeply affected the living conditions of its inhabitants, ripping the socio-cultural fabric of tribal society. It has severely affected the centuries-old Pashtun code of conduct and social organization 'Pashtunwali.' The breakdown of the traditional conflict resolution mechanism 'Jirga,' for example, paved the way for the establishment of parallel judicial and administrative systems introduced by the militants, which locked the region into an unending conflict. The legacy of the conflict should not only be understood in terms of immediate human insecurity but also in terms of longer-term transformation; it permanently empowered less-influential Mullahs (local religious leaders) thereby changing traditional power relations and dynamics in tribal society. The replacement of Hujra (communal guest house) by mosques and Jirga by Shura (Taliban council) changed the basic structure of the tribal society. Militants brought the transnational ideologies of Salafism and Wahhabism to this region. Their strict interpretation of Islam completely changed the social-cultural networks that are practiced in the region for centuries. Under the influence of transnational ideologies, various new cultural traits are introduced in the region which is alien to the tribal Pashtun culture.

During the past decade, several studies highlighted various reasons for the conflict in the region, but there has been no study on the impacts of the conflict on Pashtun social organization (Pashtunwali). This article aims to investigate the structural societal changes in Pashtun tribal society under the influence of transnational insurgents in the post 9/11 period. This article brings back into the limelight a system of values and norms of behavior that in the past, before the rise of the militants, had been held sacrosanct by tradition and by its imperative character in Pashtun tribal society. This study contributes to the literature not only in terms of understanding conflict impacts on Pashtun social organization but will also highlight the importance of the traditional conflict resolution mechanism 'Jirga' and the revival of other secular traits of Pashtun culture to bring an end to the conflict in tribal areas. This article primarily focuses on three principles of Pashtunwali, i.e., Jirga, Melmastia, and Hujra.

## 2. Research methods and the study area

This study presents an exploratory investigation through a qualitative approach. This research study is conducted in Pakistan's tribal areas. Tribal areas and Afghanistan share 1500 miles of the border, comprising mostly unmarked mountainous terrain, barren wasteland, narrow strips and a few patches of cultivable land. For this research study, within FATA, North Waziristan was chosen as one main sub-unit using embedded case study approach. North Waziristan is located at a strategically important position on the Afghan-Pakistan border. It is believed that foreign militants have developed strong bases in North Waziristan where they provided training and propagated extremist ideology.

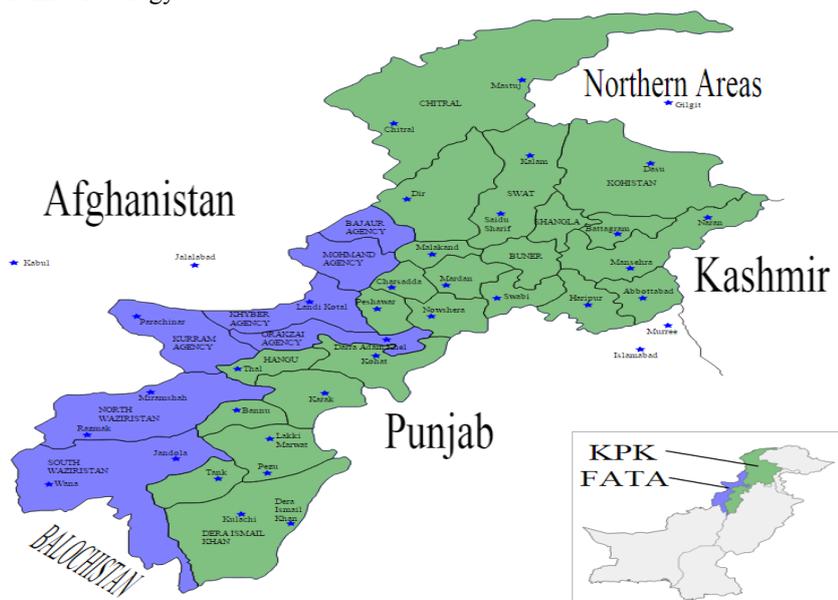


Figure1. Map of the study area

The study is based on primary and secondary data collected over three months. A qualitative, descriptive approach is adopted for analysis of the peculiarities of phenomenon either observed or recounted in local interviews. The perceptions of people are obtained through interviews and observation. A semi-structured interview guide was used for data collection to understand the impacts of conflict on Pashtunwali. Both local and key respondents are interviewed for this research study. The key respondents include local influentials who fled the area due to threats on their life by the Taliban, retired bureaucrats and NGO officials.

### 3. Violent conflict and transformation of social and cultural networks

In order to comprehend the theme of this study, it is essential to have a more precise understanding of what mean by 'conflict.' Definitions abound. According to Oxford Dictionaries (2015), 'Conflict is a serious incompatibility between two or more opinions, principles or interest.' According to Smith, conflict is significantly more intense 'Conflict is a serious armed clash between two or more centrally organized parties, with continuity between the clashes, in disputes about power over government and territory resulting into violence' (Smith, 2004: 3). For Goodhand, conflict is a struggle, between individuals or groups over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources to assert their values or claims over those of others (Goodhand, 2001). Finally, Suhrke sees conflict as an 'event that leads to physical and structural violence resulting in the disturbance and breakdown of normal life' (Suhrke & Chaudhary, 2009). The definition of both Suhrke and Goodhand are particularly useful for understanding conflict in tribal areas of Pakistan, as the conflict is both an event and an ongoing process of power struggles, where the militant's groups imposed their violent ideology through the use of violence, resulting into a complete breakdown of normal traditional tribal life.

Transformation of social and cultural networks refers to the significant changes in the social structure of society including norms, values, institutions and cultural products and symbols. Socio-cultural transformations arising from conflict can either be productive or destructive, depending on the dynamics of the conflict. In most conflict-ridden societies, new social developments transform the culture of violence resulting in positive transformation. Duffield (2001) argues that post-conflict development, in general, has become transformative as the international organizations seeking to introduce the development of new institutions, human rights and economic development (Duffield, 2001). A study conducted by Elahi (2015a) in Swat Valley, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, provided similar results on post crises development policies. He argues that 'over the last decade and especially in the post-conflict development policies the government and the international community have accepted the importance of addressing human security, poverty, gender equality and the need of strengthening of both formal and informal institution and civil society organization for bringing peace and security to the affected communities' (Elahi, 2015a:58). Positive social transformation associated with conflict thus involves processes of changing the existing institutions, social structure and the aspiration of certain segments of society who seek long term transformation (Garcia, 1994; Mitchell, 2005).

However, conflict can also be destructive, weakening social cohesion in societies by destroying norms and values. Weak societal cohesion further increases the social disorganization and fragmentation which further leads to the escalation of violent conflict (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). According to Wood, conflicts in societies radically change the pace of change in existing social structure, networks and relationship in the society with perhaps irreversible effects (Wood, 2008). The erosion of social norms and values affect the ability of collective action (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). Violent conflict affects the functioning of existing institutions where the armed actors take the role of the state, and they seek to impose a new social order by use of violence to achieve their war objectives (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004). Armed actors defy all the norms, values and social networks in society inimical to their ideology and pave the way for the emergence of new parallel institutions (Arjona, 2009).

The negative effect of violent conflict in tribal areas can be understood in three ways: targeted killings of local leaders, erosion of existing social institutions and new cultural traits (Taj, 2011). The selective violence against the traditional tribal leaders instigates fear in society (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004). In FATA, this resulted in a paradigmatic shift in the local authority structure, where the acclaimed local authority is losing power to an armed or violent group. Terrorizing the local community through selective violence creates a trust deficit among

the population, making the environment conducive for the emergence of new institutions. The new armed group installed their structure of authority and imposed it on the local population through coercive means. This new logic of violence has subsequently led to a complete erosion of more traditional forms of authority and solidarity, which in itself has facilitated the formation of new sources of power.

A visible transformation is noticed in Pakistan tribal areas, in the forms of religion-behavioral change under the influence of transnational ideologies. The movement of neo-jihadism in the post 9/11 engulfed the Pashtun borderland in the name of religion propagating extreme transnational ideologies alien to Pashtunwali. Transnational ideologies disrupted the social cohesion of Pashtun tribal society replacing it with a self-engineered, newly reformed notion of 'true' Islam. These ideologies demonstrated how violent religious extremism could lead to purification campaigns that justify mass killing, and social and cultural transformation at horrific levels.

#### 4. Understanding Pashtun social organization 'Pashtunwali' (Pashtun Magna Carta)

Pashtun is the dominant ethnic group in Pakistan tribal areas, as well as the dominant ethnic group in Afghanistan. Pashtuns across Afghanistan and Pakistan share a common social organization which is embedded in the legal history of Pashtuns and widely practiced as a component of customary law known as 'Pashtunwali.' (Ahmad, 1980; Barth, 1981; Caroe, 1958). Pashtunwali means 'the way of Pashtuns' (Rzehak, 2011), and comprises the informal, unwritten law formed by primary normative rules which guide the cultural practices that are strictly followed by the Pashtun tribal groups (Ahmad, 1980). It is the sum of collective expectation (Johnson & Mason, 2008) and collective wisdom (Barth, 1981) that does not stem from one authority, but has been developed over a long period of history and accepted as a socio-cultural entity (Rzehak, 2011). The main tenants of Pashtunwali include Melmastia (hospitality), Jirga (council of elders), Hujra (common guest house or community centre), Badal (revenge), Nanawatee (refuge, asylum), Ghairat (honour, chivalry), Tarboorwali (agnatic rivalry), purdah and Namooos (gender boundaries) (Ahmad, 1980; Barth, 1981; Daur, 2014; Glatzer, 1998; Rzehak, 2011).

There is no state institution to implement this unwritten law, but people have internalized these social norms to the extent that they become implicit and reach a quasi-legal status. J.W. Spain argues that it is nearly impossible to find a Pashtun child - male or female - which is not aware of the elements of Pashtunwali (Spain, 1972). Pashtunwali is 'so essential to the identity of the Pashtun that there is no distinction between practicing Pashtunwali and being a Pashtun' (Kakar, 2007: 2). For Pashtuns doing Pashtu means to bring one's behavior in line with the ideals and moral concepts of the Pashtuns (Rzehak, 2011). These norms not only describe what constitutes honorable behavior in society but it also includes various sanctions for those who violate these rules. Barfield argues the real Pashtun demands that one not just speaks Pashto, but do Pashto, that is, follow the precepts of the Pashtunwali (Barfield, 2003). Any deviation from the rules and norms of Pashtunwali leads to Paighur (ostracism) and in most cases results in expulsion from the tribe. The one who follows the maxims of Pashtunwali is considered respectable and enjoys high esteem in society (Glatzer, 1998). The codes exercise great influence on Pashtun actions and have been held sacrosanct by Pashtuns (Barth, 1981; Rzehak, 2011). Though it is not a religion, Pashtunwali is a very sacred code of conduct that in some circumstances and in some cases, it is called the 'fifth religion.'

##### 4.1. 'Jirga' as a conflict resolution mechanism in the Pashtun borderlands

Jirga means 'gathering' or 'consultation,' and is a proto-legal system for mitigating conflicts and legitimate ways to resolve them (Gohar & Yousufzai, 2005; Wardak, 2004). It is the legislative assembly maintaining order in society by implementing the normative dynamics of Pashtunwali by consensus. Jirga is based on local traditional informal law (Narkh) and institutionalized rituals based on impartiality and results in binding decisions. Jirga, often comprised of a council of elders, represents an operational democracy, exercising both an executive and judicial role in settling disputes and dispensing quick decisions based on equality between men (Bangash, 2004; Wardak, 2004). In everyday practice, Jirga settles disputes related to families and tribes on the property, blood feuds, and money, serving to limit private violence. Jirga decides the cases after proper investigation, allowing both parties to speak, listen to the witness and spare no efforts to reconcile the opponent parties (Bangash, 2004).

All are equal, and everyone has the right to speak and argue, although regard for the elders is always there without any authoritarianism or privileged rights attached to it.

#### **4.2. *Melmastia (hospitality)***

In Pashtun society, the concept of hospitality has been institutionalised. (Ahmad, 1980; Spain, 1972). Pashtuns are famous for their generosity toward guests and welcome them with a broad smile on their faces. 'Melmastia' refers to the feeding of guests and strangers and the provision of temporary shelter to those who ask (Rzehak, 2011). A Pashtun feels happy to receive a guest and feeds him with the best food regardless of his past relation (Daur, 2014). A guest of one individual is considered and treated as the guest of all in the Hujra (see next section). Even the poor are hospitable to the extent that a guest will probably get the wrong picture of their real economic situation (Rzehak, 2011). During fieldwork, an older person explaining Melmastia said: 'In the evening after serving the guest with our best food, a local musical programme was arranged to amuse the guest with traditional dances *Attanr*. However, it is worth mentioning that Hospitality includes not only rules of behavior to be observed by the host, but rules for the guest as well, such as adhering to the norms of the society.

#### **4.3. *Hujra (communal guest house)***

In Pashtun traditional society, Hujra is a communal property which provides a platform for social, political, economic and cultural learning in traditional tribal society. According to Elahi, 'Hujra was a source of socialization where common issues of the tribe were discussed, and people helped each other in times of need' (Elahi, 2015b: 232). It serves as a school where practical knowledge about Pashtunwali is transferred from one generation of men to another (Daur, 2014). Hujra was not only a place of Jirga's; it also served as a social club in a tribal society where musical programmes used to be arranged once a week where male members of all ages participated. The essentials of the Hujras include charpai (bed), pillows, musical instruments and chillum (hookah). While sitting in Hujra, an influential elder of one of the study villages said: 'it is a tradition that when elders are discussing community issues, younger boys should listen carefully, without interfering unless asked.' However, we will see from this study that the very existence of this old traditional pillar of Pashtun culture is at the verge of disappearing.

### **5. A paradigm shift in the post 9/11 period**

After the US intervention in Afghanistan, both local and foreign militants (Al-Qaida, Uzbeks, and others) who had fled Afghanistan entered the tribal areas and took advantage of the antiquated structure of governance. Initially, they were peaceful guests of their close affiliates, but after consolidating a strong foothold in the region, now they had to go on their way. Al Qaeda and other foreign insurgents started imposing their strict ideology with the help of the local supporters. Moreover, they challenged the century-old norms of Pashtunwali by creating a reign of terror in the region. Militants defied all the norms that were against their doctrine, such as Jirga, Hujra, etc. and glorified the religious aspect of Pashtunwali through their conservative Islamic interpretation.

#### **5.1. Impacts on Jirga**

A critical aspect of the militants rises in the tribal area was to assume the 'function of state and tribe' (Siddique, 2014: 78). To achieve both, militants targeted the Pashtunwali institution of 'Jirga,' or council of elders, which played an important role in conflict resolution and maintaining peace in society. Militants understood that dismantling this traditional conflict resolution mechanism would strengthen their power in the region. During an interview with a local researcher in Islamabad, the researcher argues: 'local tribal elders were targeted mainly because local and foreign militants feared that the elders have enough influence to mobilize the local population against them and could form anti-militant Lashkars (an armed group formed by tribe/tribes) in the regions.' To tribal elders marked to be killed, militants sent \$16 to buy his shroud and the needle to sew it with (Rashid, 2009). For the creation of a reign of terror, they usually left written letters on the dead bodies of those they killed, saying that anyone who contacts the government or army will face the same fate. In order to escape assassination, most of the tribal elders fled the area and permanently moved to Peshawar or Islamabad. One Malik who escaped

assassination, explains, 'militants made two attempts to kill him. They labeled him pro-government and pro-American. In Mohmand Agency, suicide bombers killed more than 100 tribal elders (Dawn, 2010). In the Aurakzai agency, a truck full of explosives hit a Jirga and killed dozens of tribal elders (Taj, 2011). A local researcher maintains that 'more than 2,000 tribal elders are killed in tribal areas during the last decade of conflict'. These attacks have limited the scope of the Jirga in tribal society. Militants control over the Jirga and the attacks on local Maliks weaken the century-old mechanism of conflict resolution and let the conflict spread like cancer where a few members of society benefited at the expense of the rest.

Disrupting the Jirga by targeting the local Maliks created a power vacuum and chaos in the region - which was the ultimate goal of the militants. This chaos results in a breakdown in social relations, thus limiting the communities' collective ability to fight against the militants. However, within a short time, the vacuum was filled by Taliban - established parallel courts. For effective propaganda, the militants used mosques as a platform, where selected sermons were delivered every Friday glorifying their justice system and asking people to boycott the local elders. The role of the tribal elders was effectively eliminated when they announced the implementation of Sharia law in March 2006 in Waziristan. Mullahs, who previously held a lower position in the Pashtun social hierarchy, now grew in power and replaced the traditional, high ranking Maliks. The replacement of Malik by Mullah effectively broke down the conflict resolution mechanism of Jirga, locking the Pashtun borderland into an unending conflict.

Militants set up an Amir (local commander) for every tribe/village, who listened to the problems of the local people and worked as a bridge between the local population and the central Amir (regional commander). They started dispensing judgment at a local level, making the Jirga redundant. One local respondent explains that the initial popularity of militants justice occurred for two reasons: quick justice and free arbitration among families disputes. They initiated a door-to-door campaign and dissolved decade long conflicts between families. The speedy justice gave them fame and popularity especially among the poor class in society. However, once they secured local support and sidelined the local Maliks, they started demanding money for all services. Local jails were set up in each village, where the local commander (Amir) was authorized to put anyone in jail if he violates their the decision of Amir. These jails were also used as torture cells for those who were against their ideology. Unlike Jirga where a person has the right to appeal a decision, militants verdict was final and binding.

Along with speedy justice system, militants established funds for victims of military operations. According to the local commander of one of the study villages, they distributed more than 15 million Pakistani rupees to the families of victims, this, in turn, gave them popularity and fame'. When asked about the sources of funds, a local respondent said: 'they initiated collecting money from the local rich families in the name of jihad [...] they owe money based on the income of the person'. They also used coercive tactics of forced money collection, which compelled many better-off families to migrate to the settled areas of Pakistan. Whereas a traditional Pashtun sees himself as completely independent and takes orders from no man, the militants' enforce its version of Sharia rule through its religious leaders.

## **5.2. Effects on Melmastia (hospitality)**

Militants' policies of intimidation in the tribal region have seriously affected the concept of Melmastia, a main tenant of Pashtunwali. Security analysts argue that people of tribal areas provided refuge to Al-Qaeda and other foreign militants under Pashtun cultural code Melmastia (Cheema, 2008; Rana, 2009). Some also argue that the people of tribal areas found a profitable business where the Arabs provided large sums of money for renting a house. For instance, Nawaz and de Borchgrave write in their paper, 'Fata the Most Dangerous Place,' 'unemployed locals-tribal entrepreneurs-discovered the lucrative business of harboring foreign militant' (Nawaz & de Borchgrave, 2009: 23). However, interaction with key, local respondents and personal observation at the ground level present an opposing picture. The primary data collected for this research study reveals that the reign of terror and the militant's coercive policy forced the local population to shelter them. Local respondents maintain that: 'indeed, people provided shelter and protection to the foreign militants for temporary periods, and they were asked to abide by the rules of tribal society [...] soon foreign elements supported by the indigenous like-minded turned more violent where the local population was made hostages through use of force'.

Under the code of Pashtunwali, hospitality is not unconditional. It is the custom of the tribal belt for a host to provide shelter and protection temporarily where the guest will live according to the terms and conditions of the host (Rzehak, 2011). Taj argues, 'any breach of rule or violation of the terms and condition on the part of the guest can lead to the expulsion of the guest from the tribe' (Taj, 2011). In practice, the expulsion of foreign militants, no matter what their behavior, becomes impossible. The local militants used intimidating tactics to deter the local population from organizing any Jirga against the foreign militants. The foreign militants never surrendered their weapons to the tribesmen; instead, they overpowered the local community by killing their Maliks and influential elders.

### **Effects on Hujra (communal guest house)**

Transnational insurgents backed by local militants in the region severely affected the Hujra culture in tribal society. Owing to the growing influence of Mullahs in the region, the status of Hujra has been replaced by mosques. Musical instruments and performances disappeared due to militancy in the region. While sitting in the Hujra, an older person of one study village explained: "This village had four communal Hujras divided into four shakh (branches) where each shakh has its own Hujra for guests. However, during the past fifteen years, three of them disappeared". He further explained that: 'two attempts were made by the militants' to destroy the remaining one, but God saved it.' While asking about the reasons for their opposition to the Hujra culture in the tribal society, he mentioned: 'militants fear that the influential elders can use this platform to form resistance against them in the region and the growing importance of the occupational class in militants ranks and file that ignited them against Hujra culture in the tribal society'. It is true that in the past, the professional class was not given equal status in tribal society. The elder explained that 'the role of the professional class was to offer food, water, clean the Hujra and play the musical instruments.' This is reminiscent of the saying of Ghani Khan, a great Pashtun poet, 'Pashtuns loves music but have great contempt for musicians' (Khan, 1994). The emergence of the militants as a new force in the region provided the lower class with an opportunity to take revenge on society. This does not mean, however, that all members of lower classes were either involved or willingly engaged with militants for reason of class alone, even though they had grievances-there were, also, strong elements of coercion.

A local respondent argues 'Hujras now become the place of gambling and most of them are occupied by militants' providing temporary refuge for foreign militants.' This pillar of Pashtunwali is on the verge of disappearing. It's no more a place of unexpected guests, musical nights, social training for young children. Now dry leaves make a hissing sound swirling in the verandas of the Hujras.

## **6. Concluding remarks**

In the past decade of conflict, Pashtunwali-related culture and traditional values have been overshadowed by the Taliban and their fundamentalist interpretation of Islam. Under the influence of de-tribalized groups such as Al-Qaida, religious-based tribalism was introduced to the region. The findings of the study reveal that power relations within Pashtun society have shifted dramatically. The power of traditional Maliks has been replaced by religious leaders, Mullah, who in the past were not even allowed to sit in the Jirga. Backed by lower occupational class and poor strata of Pashtuns, militants set up a parallel administration in Pashtun tribal society, undermining the traditional conflict resolution mechanism of the Jirga. The creation of a power vacuum in the region through the removal of the influential village elders resulted in chaos, which has led to perpetual conflict in the region.

In this chaotic situation, Pakistan could have used the centuries-old conflict resolution mechanisms, Jirga, to control the situation. Instead, they let this mechanism die. Interaction with the local community during fieldwork unveiled the vast importance of Jirga in bringing peace to the region. Local villagers argued that the recent wave of militancy in the region could only be cured through local means, in this case by utilizing the Jirga, an institution which is embedded in tribal society. However, there is a need to reform the Jirga structure in tribal society. To overcome the elitist model of Jirga, it should be balanced and comprehensive, providing a representation of all segments of the tribal society, including women. It should take into consideration the grievances of the neglected classes by providing them due to place in the Jirga.

The development of the post-9/11, religiously-sanctioned patriarchy in tribal areas needs to be challenged. The cultural aspects that have been wiped away need to be revitalized and a culture of mutual respect promoted to quell the suppression of both men and women in tribal society. The few positive changes in the region such as growing awareness of the issues, education of both men and women and the emergence of civil society organizations in FATA could help to fuel such change if the political will to solve these serious issues does indeed exist.

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# A Comparative Study on the Afghan-China Relation Based on Afghan-US relation

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## Abstract

This paper shows and highlights the broad development friendly ties between Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and wants to investigate the effective factors which affect the relationship with the help of theoretically informed sources and historical narratives. The study shows the relationship that started with the ancient Silk Road that passed through Afghanistan, to recent cooperation represented by Afghanistan's membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, AIIB, and OBOR, altogether indicate the continuation of this relationship with the friendly and neighboring country of the People's Republic of China. Moreover, the study tries to explain the differences between Afghan-China relations in comparison with Afghan-American relations. The study adopts Copenhagen school theories based on geopolitics context. Also, this paper tries to respond to this question that, which factors are more important for shaping strength in the relationship of Afghanistan and China based on Afghan- American relation? And is based on the assumption that Afghanistan and China are two neighboring countries with shared values and interests, and these common interests play an effective role in the security, economy, and stability of Afghanistan.

**Keywords:** Afghan-China Relation, Afghan-US Relation, Copenhagen School Theory, Geopolitical Position, National Interest (Mutual Benefit)

## Introduction

Historically the Afghan-China Relations are dated back to ancient times, the transport of caravans to China and Chinese merchants and tourists through Silk Road in Afghanistan has played a great role in these relationships. Afghanistan and China have always had friendly political relations and exchanging of envoys with the exception of the so-called Taliban period known between 1996- 2000 (Munadi, 2014, p4), since 2002, the relations between Afghanistan and China have come to an unprecedented manner, both in the economic sector and in the cultural and political sectors. The membership of Afghanistan in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Asian infrastructure investment Bank, SAARC, and the Belt and Road project, as well as the strategic position of Afghanistan in this project, add to the strengthening of these relations (Sakhanyar, 2005, p8).

Afghanistan is located in a geopolitical position in South Asia, a geopolitical position that has sometimes ended at the expense of Afghanistan in international affairs: mainly the United States' military presence due to the 9/11 event has sparked Afghanistan's neighbors' concerns.

This study in addition to the bilateral relations of Afghanistan and China compared the foreign policy and strategy of China, and the US, towards Afghanistan. The comparison did by theories to investigate the success and failure points for each channel of relations. It tried to respond to the question: Why Afghan-china relationship is different from the Afghan-American relationship?

This study found that the economic and security factors are effective factors framing the relationship between Afghanistan and China, for which these factors had created shared needs and mutual benefit in these relations. The relationship between Afghanistan and China as well, in fact, creates regional convergence based on the geopolitical position of Afghanistan (Afghanistan in the geopolitical dimension of security of Eurasia, 2014).

### **1. Theoretical framework**

In terms of the theoretical framework, this paper uses the Copenhagen School. The Copenhagen school is based on two theoretical approaches of realism and constructivism. The belief in the existence of governments, the realization of national interests, the centrality of the issue of security and convergence are the real foundations of this theoretical approach (Shafiee and Dolat Abadi, 2016, pp71-102).

This study tried to introduce two phenomena based on this school, first, the relationship between Afghanistan and China, second, the presence, and strategy of the US in Afghanistan. In this study, Afghanistan and China are considered as two neighboring states, which have focused the national interests as the focal point of their relations, and among the various national interests, national security for China, and economic and political security for Afghanistan considered as the fundamental and important issues. At the same time, the Copenhagen School has coordinated efforts to develop a theory or framework for the security review in accordance with the constructivist tradition (William, 2011, p129). The attention of the Copenhagen school is to the post-Cold War security studies and to the widespread developments that have taken place in the area of security. The theorists of this school are Mac Sweeney, Eli Weaver, and Barry Buzan.

From the point of view of Bozan and Weaver, the future of the international system is a function of the power at the regional level, so these are the regions that make up the power system. Their perception of the power system is a central focus on the role of regions and geopolitical significance in the world power system. In the view of this school, regional security is a security system in which the countries in its first have similar security concerns; second, historically, geographically and culturally, they have relatively similar fate and memories, and their constituent units determine the rules and mechanisms in terms of concerns and the same understanding of the threats in order to create and maintain themselves (Nazari, 2005, pp586-599). Bozan mentions this level of analysis or new concept as regional security collections. In Bazan's view, the security suite includes a group of countries whose security concerns made sufficiently close them. So that their security issues cannot be analyzed separately from each other (Vosoughi, and others,2014, pp152-153).

This perception of the level of security analysis is precisely what connects the fate of China and Afghanistan. These two countries are neighbors, and insecurity in Afghanistan is considered a common threat and must find common solutions to these common threats (Shafiee and Ruhollah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, p3) Based on the geographic territory and common geopolitical of the south and east Asian countries, countries need to cooperate in different fields and can solve some of their problems by forming the convergence in the region and will strengthen the relations, based on convergence factors that are: the common geographic territory, and the neighboring location, common geopolitics, and the labor market, Afghanistan in accordance with this characteristic can have good relations with China and resolve its problems based on this theory (Sajid, p2).

Convergence as a theory was first introduced by English researcher David Mitrany in the years between the two world wars. Mitrany believes that the interference between transnational governments in a geography that has conflicting interests only leads to crisis and war (Hettne,1999, p12). This belief precisely can consider the American presence and the concern of Afghanistan's neighbors as a negative point. Given the geopolitical theory

that can be defined in the framework of constructivism, transnational countries use preventive strategies with the wisdom of financial, economic, and cultural strategies in third countries, and this issue will bring confrontation in the region (Ezzati, 2005). From a realistic perspective, the formation of international organizations cannot have a decisive impact on conflict prevention by expanding democracies and mutual interdependence, this concept, in fact, makes zero the American argument in Afghanistan (Qaiyum, p3). The emphasis of realism is to avoid ambition in foreign policy. For example, Morgenthau sees devastating, the pursuit of a policy which is based on national interests in the far realm, and he thinks this will lead to instability in the international arena. From the perspective of realism, at a high level of analysis, such policies provide the way for turmoil, instability, and war (Afet,2017, p45).

## **2. Bilateral relations of Afghanistan and China**

Afghanistan has a distinguished and indeed, immense importance in the strategic calculus of China. The geopolitics issue of this China neighbor has four dimensions of importance, including; political, strategic, geographical, and economic. The former Afghan's president, Hamid Karzai and current president Ashraf Ghani first official trips to China explain the growing realization of the importance of bilateral relations for both sides, and it has an indication of China's crucial role in Afghanistan's affairs in current times (Muhammad Khan, 2015, p2).

The previous Chinese president Hu Jintao emphasized China's regional role when he clearly envisioned that, "We will continue to manage regional affairs by ourselves, guarding against shocks from turbulence outside the region, and will play a bigger role in Afghanistan's peaceful reconstruction" (Baggiani, 2014). Similarly, as China's former president emphasized China's plan for post-2014 Afghanistan, current Chinese president Xi Jinping confirmed China's commitment to Afghanistan's economic prosperity, stability, and peace.

### **2.1. Background of Afghanistan and China relations**

Throughout history, the relations between Afghanistan and China mostly involved trade goods via caravans through Xinjiang and the Wakhan Corridor on the border between the two countries. Buddhist monks from the area of what is now Afghanistan were involved in the Silk Road transmission of Buddhism to Han dynasty China (Wikipedia, Afghan- china relation). The Afghan-Chinese relations date back to ancient times, and perhaps Zhang Qian is the first envoy of the Han emperor who has traveled to the north of Afghanistan in 128 B.C. King Kanishka of the Kushan Empire in Afghanistan sent envoys to the Han Dynasty. The mutual visits continued until the modern period, although the background of the relation between both states shows clearly that it had a religious and business aspect (Munadi, 2014, p4). Afghanistan and China official relation in the 20th century started on 30th August of 1922 when Mohamad Sharif khan was nominated in Turkestan. In 1934, Habibullah khan Tarzi was nominated in Nankeen (Nanjing) as Afghanistan envoy. On March of 1944 a friendship treaty signed by two sides (Sakhanyer, 2005, p9). The People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Afghanistan based on the Chinese five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and mutual respect, trust, and support, all leading to deepening the traditional friendship on January 20, 1955. The modern diplomatic relations were marked by Abdul Samad who was the first Afghan Ambassador posted to Peking in 1955.

Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier He Long visited Afghanistan in January 1957. This was the first ever visit taken by the Chinese leadership to Afghanistan in the history of Sino-Afghan relations. On November 1956 Prime Minister Dawood invited Prime Minister Zhou Enlai to visit Afghanistan. On January 19th, 1957, the Chinese Prime Minister and his delegation arrived in Afghanistan for a 5 days state visit (Munadi, 2014, p4), From 1996 - 2001 the relations were stopped completely; this time was the Taliban period (Sadiq, 2016, N12).

When the Afghan provisional government was formed at the end of 2001, the bilateral diplomatic relations were restarted and developed greatly on the ambassadorial level. China and Afghanistan have maintained official contact of a high-level translated by visits such as those conducted by Afghan president to Beijing in 2002 and later in 2010. Overall President Karzai had visited China for 7 times, Chinese governmental officials also have

visited Kabul in several time. In 2010 Yang Jiechi, Chinese minister of foreign affairs, visited Kabul to participate in a conference. On September 2012, Zhou Yongkang, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC), made a visit to Afghanistan and met with President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, Zhou said that it was a priority of China's foreign policy to strengthen relations with neighboring countries. On October 28, 2014, President Xi Jinping held talks with President Ashraf Ghani of Afghanistan at the Great Hall of the People. Xi Jinping emphasized that Afghanistan is now undergoing the triple-transition in politics, security, and economy, and China supports Afghanistan in safeguarding national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity as well as the peaceful reconciliation process featuring "Afghan-led and Afghan-owned"(China–Afghan relation, 2014). Afghan executive Chief Abdullah Abdullah traveled to China on May 20, 2016, at the invitation of the president of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping. During the meeting, the president of China Xi Jinping emphasized having further cooperation and better relations between the two countries (Sadiq, 2016).

## **2.2. The official position of China towards Afghanistan**

The official position of China in Afghanistan, due to foreign policy, and its relations with countries, can be viewed based on several perspectives: First, Afghanistan is one of the neighbors of China, China's new policy has prioritized relations with its neighbors at the first step. Second, due to the geopolitical and geo-economic position of Afghanistan, Afghanistan has been considered as a four-way transit in South Asia (Khalil, 2018), therefore, Afghanistan's importance is not only due to its resources but rather due to its geopolitical location, due to this feature of Afghanistan and due to the One Belt One Road project, which south and southwest Asian countries is the main route of this project, China will focus on this important location. Third, due to the two internal challenges of Afghanistan, insecurity, and poverty, China's position as a neighboring country has been called important to fight against the economic and security threats, since security threats in Afghanistan will be a threat in China (Ammar, 2013, N201). Regarding all, China has taken the step with two perspectives in its relationship with Afghanistan.

### **2.2.1. The economic and security cooperation**

Afghanistan is an extremely under-developed country living in severe poverty conditions affected by unemployment, and poor infrastructure, accordingly, Beijing announced its support for the new government of Afghanistan in the post-Taliban period after 2001. Chinese support planned to include humanitarian and infrastructure reconstruction assistance. China appeared as the main actor in the redevelopment of the war-torn country, initially in January 2002(Chéné,2014, p8). In the wake of new developments in post-Taliban Afghanistan, China's role was supportive and stabilizing. In January 2002, when the chairman of the Afghan Interim Government Hamid Karzai visited China, then Chinese president Jiang Zemin announced an aid package worth \$150 million for Afghanistan (Shams, 2018).

China provided economic support to Afghanistan on dissimilar schemes, which comprise 10 million dollars for Parwan Irrigation development (Tahiri, 2017, p2). In fact, China's economic aid was estimated at roughly US\$250 million between 2001 and 2013. Moreover, China gave human-resource training to more than 800 different officials of Afghanistan and also gave technical training to local Afghans in different departments. In 2003, China gave support of \$15 million after signing a financial and mechanical assistance agreement.

Since 2006, China has exempted Kabul from tax imports on 278 items and has deepened its economic relationship. Thus, it has changed as the first and primary economic partners. Security assistance also has been provided, but it focused on non-lethal aspects such as training programs. Beijing also focuses on its efforts against drug-trafficking as that is a key source of funding for militant groups, and poses a threat to public health in the region (Chéné,2014, p8).

China is among the countries that have the largest investment in Afghanistan. Aynak copper contract was signed with a capital of about \$ 4 billion in 2007, the Amu Darya contract was signed in 2012 as the first oil producing company in Afghanistan, In addition, over the past fourteen years projects such as the Jamhuriyat Hospital, the Science and Technology Center of the Ministry of Education project, the Chinese language department building , the guest house of Kabul University and the Parwan water Supply Projects, the Memorandums on the construction of the Shirkhan Port of Herat, the implementation of the electricity project on the Kabul-Kunar Watershed, the memorandum on Technical and economic cooperation, the Memorandum on the completion of Afghan Police equipment, the memorandum on the cooperation in the field of Production and export of Saffron, the memorandum on the establishment of Belt and Road (Silk Road), collaboration on construction of the teaching laboratory of Kabul University, the memorandum on establishment buildings for government officials, mutual cooperation between Afghan Telecom and China Telecom based on One belt One road project, a Fiber optic memorandum between China and Afghanistan through the Wakhan corridor, and most importantly, providing 550 scholarships for students for the last five years, and many projects were the contents of Chinese government support for Afghanistan (Bahin, 2015).

Similarly, signing a memorandum on the transfer of gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to China, the construction of two railroads from Landi Kottel to Jalal Abad and from Chaman to Spin Boldak, creating two highways from Peshawar(Pakistan) to Kabul and from Kunduz to Central Asia, as well as construction of large hydropower station over the Kunar river are the examples of cooperation that has been taken (Torabi and Raziye Saneie, 2015,pp7-26).In December 2014, China, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Iran signed a renewal agreement, which is the largest railway track in Afghanistan (Bahin, 2015).

The first major memorandum on security relations and the readiness of China to assist the Afghan police during the Afghan Minister of Interior's visit to China was agreed, the agreement was approved by the 480 million-yuan (\$ 73 million) aid to the Afghan security forces. Both countries are also doing fine in bilateral business. Chinese telecommunication companies, Huawei and ZTE, updated 200,000 Afghanistan 's analog telephone lines to digital (Tahiri, 2017, p3).

### **2.2.2. As an intermediary in the peace process of Afghanistan**

As Afghanistan experiences insecurity, and this insecurity has threatened neighbors even in the region, and this situation in Afghanistan directly affects China. Due to that, China as a good neighbor of Afghanistan has played a significant role in the Afghan peace process as a mediator. China has persuaded Pakistan to help the Afghanistan peace process. China also has paved the way as a mediator to persuade Pakistan to cooperate with Afghanistan in the implementation of the Afghanistan Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (Shams, 2018).

A joint statement released after the "Second Afghanistan-China-Pakistan Foreign Ministers Dialogue" noted that the three sides reaffirmed their commitment to further strengthening their relations, deepening cooperation and advancing connectivity under the BRI, Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA) and other regional economic initiatives (Saif, 2018). In the 2nd China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Foreign Ministers' Dialogue, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi said, peace is the strong desire of the Afghan people and the important precondition for the reconstruction and development of Afghanistan. He said China welcomes the peace initiatives put forward by the Afghan government (Xinhua, 2018). The tripartite meetings by foreign ministers of China, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, with the support of the Chinese government, have formed in Beijing, Islamabad, and Kabul to find a solution way in Afghanistan security case.

In October 2014, China hosted the fourth Ministerial "Istanbul process" Conference about Afghanistan. The five principles as pointed out by Chinese prime minister Li Keqiang at the conference were: first, Afghanistan should be managed by Afghan people themselves; secondly, political rehabilitation must be a political solution that is acceptable to all, thirdly, trying for reconstruction of Afghanistan must be the priority; fourthly, Afghanistan's way would be provided for the development and support of foreign countries. Also, Beijing has created multilateral

mechanisms that include Pakistan and Iran, Russia and India, Russia and Pakistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan, where each and then all works together on Afghanistan issues. In 2015, China created tripartite or quadripartite talks with Russia, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan for three or four times, with the aim of finding a solution to Afghanistan's problems (Shafiee and Roohallah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, p80). In January 2016, China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the US created a Quartet Coordination Group on Afghanistan's challenges, which held at least five meetings in less than six months.

At the beginning of 2019, the Afghan peace process has been accelerating by giving the Taliban group a deadline for the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the neighboring countries, including China, played an active role in this process. The foreign minister of China announced that China wants to create a contact group within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for the Afghan Peace Process (Tolo TV, 2019). China supports the international efforts to help Afghanistan overcome its challenges. As a neighbor of Afghanistan, China had been one part of the "6 plus 2" format.

### **2.3. China's Role in the Economic Growth of Afghanistan**

In recent years, trade among the 2 countries has progressively augmented, and China has swiftly appeared as one of the chief exporters to Afghanistan in the past decade. Sino-Afghan employment has previously touched over \$700 million. An appearance at China-Afghan trade volume highlights certain facts which point towards the environment conducive for China's business interests. Just between 2002 and 2010, the occupation capacity continued significantly high, i.e. China's spread capacity augmented from \$19.91 million to \$704 million, there also is a small but significant increase in China's import volume which increased from \$.08 million to \$11.7 million (Huasheng, 2012, pp4-7).

China is making substantive contributions in terms of developing the natural resources and infrastructure of Afghanistan. In 2007, Metallurgical Corporation of China (MCC) and Jiangxi Copper Corporation (JCCL) agreed to make the single largest foreign investment of \$3.5 billion in Afghanistan by winning a tender to develop what geologists believe is the world's second-largest undeveloped copper deposit at Aynak in Logar Province-Afghanistan, these copper deposits are estimated to be worth \$1-\$3 trillion (Muhammad Khan, 2015, p78).

Afghanistan has approved an exploration and Production Sharing Contract between the Ministry of Mines and CNPC for three oil blocks in the Amu Darya Basin of northern Afghanistan. The fields are expected to contain a total of more than 80 million barrels of crude oil reserves, which will be produced over a 25-year period, and this is the second huge investment of Chinese government in Afghanistan for the production of natural resources (Ministry of mines and petroleum of Afghanistan, 2012). China has generally played a positive economic role via investment and infrastructure spending in Afghanistan (Lise, 2018).

### **2.4. Afghanistan's geopolitical Position as milestone Point for China**

Afghanistan is surrounded by countries sharing land borders in South-central Asia. However, its location is geopolitically characterized as in central Asia, South Asia, and sometimes the Middle East. The geographic entity known as Afghanistan has a very long history and has been an ancient focal point of the Silk Road and migration (Tajeram, 2017). Historical records show that the Silk Road is one of the oldest routes for the exchange of humanitarian goods and knowledge between the Greek and Chinese civilizations, which most of this route crossed with centered of Balkh city- Afghanistan to Khorasan (Gorjestani, 2017). The Wakhan corridor, located in the Pamir Mountains, north-east of Afghanistan, is close to China. This corridor has its significance in providing an alternative route for the energy supply of oil and gas pipelines. Regardless of its mineral and oil resources reserves, Afghanistan's regional importance lies in its geopolitical position as a link between the region countries of India, Iran, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, and of course China. Installing the pipeline project going through Pakistan and Afghanistan shall add a big value to energy resources industry in Central Asia and Iran with a benefit for all countries in the region. On the other hand, Afghanistan's strategic position at the crossroads of so many trade

routes have for centuries made it vulnerable to invasion by transnational powers. At the same time, two major factors, economic poverty, and extremism in the country have paved the way for intervention (Zazai, 2011).

## **2.5. The official position of Afghanistan towards China**

The official position of Afghanistan in its relationship with China can be expressed based on several factors. First, China and Afghanistan are two neighboring countries, which have a common border, and the presence of common culture and history in this area is very important and influential. In addition, Afghanistan has joined the project and organizations, like the Belt and Road Project, the AIIB, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which all shows the official position of Afghanistan in its relation with China.

### **2.5.1. One Belt One Road (OBOR)**

Historical records show that the Silk Road was one of the oldest routes for the trade of goods, knowledge, and culture among the civilizations of China and Greece which flowed from Khorasan to the centrality of the Balkh city, Afghanistan. The results of the studies show that this way was essentially formed in the Han Dynasty of China in the first century BC (Gorjestani, 2017). The BRI is the new Chinese plan which is a development strategy and framework that focuses on connectivity and cooperation among countries, and this project includes the countries of Asia (Belt, One Road, 2017). Afghanistan is located to the route of this project, so, Afghanistan has signed a memorandum with China to join this project. Afghanistan is one of the earliest countries which announced its support for this initiative.

### **2.5.2. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)**

The SCO is an Intergovernmental organization which formed for multilateral security, economic, and cultural cooperation. This organization was founded in 2001 by leaders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In addition to the main members, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Iran, Pakistan, India, and Belarus joined this organization as observer members in 2012. In 2015, the organization agreed with the India and Pakistan membership, and these two countries, in less than two years, implemented all the conditions for full membership of the organization and accepted as permanent members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2017 (Wikipedia, 2018). Also, Afghanistan participates as an observer member at the meetings of this organization and has played a good role, and China has supported Afghanistan under the Shanghai Cooperation Organizations activities.

### **2.5.3. Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)**

The AIIB was established in 2013 by Xi Jinping the president of the People's Republic of China, and on June 29, 2015, fifty-six countries were accepted as members of this Bank. So, this bank has practically established with an initial capital of one hundred billion dollars, which, fifty billion dollars paid by China, and fifty billion dollars paid by other member countries. China has announced that this Bank will be able to pay an \$8 billion bailout for Asian infrastructure, and so, this financial fund will be used to provide the infrastructure resources that are the long-term targets of the Silk Road project (Bahin, 2015). Afghanistan has been accepted as one of its members. Officials at the Afghan Ministry of Finance emphasize that Afghanistan's membership in this bank will open a new phase for rapid economic development (Shayiri, 2017).

## **3. A Comparative view of the foreign policy of China, and the US towards Afghanistan**

### **3.1. China's foreign policy**

China wants to have a good relationship with the neighbors or regional countries based on economic perspective, enhanced by China's strategy with regional countries based on One Belt One Road as the following would show:

- **Strengthening policy communication:** that is to activate further negotiation process of cooperation to include practical implementation of cooperation projects.
- **Improving road connectivity:** which means transportation infrastructure construction; energy infrastructure construction; constructing of cross-border optical cables and other communications trunk line networks.
- **Promoting trade facilitation:** which can be translated to enhancing customs cooperation; expanding trading areas, improving trade structure; speeding up investment facilitation; expanding mutual investment areas.
- **Enhancing monetary circulation:** that is illustrated in making more efforts in building currency stability, investment and financing, and credit information systems in Asia and strengthening financial regulation cooperation.
- **Strengthening people-to-people exchange:** by promoting and supporting students exchange programs including the opening of cultural schools. Furthermore, increase cooperation in the area of science and technology and other civil non-governmental associations and tourism as well (How will the BRI advance China's interests?)

The new diplomacy of the China neighborhood has significant features, which the most important of all, relations with neighbors are the main priorities of foreign policy (Huasheng, 2016). Thus, it seems that the theory of the security collections of the Copenhagen school has opened up its place in the Chinese perspective. In confirmation of the Copenhagen School view, the history of international relations also shows that, as governments' powers grow, their cooperation extends first to neighbors. They create a safe and secure environment, improves their position, strengthens its diplomatic resources (Beeson, and Fujian Li, 2015, pp93-109).

China's constructive engagement with regional countries based on her independent foreign policy and "five principles of peaceful coexistence, win-win strategy, good neighboring policy, and mutual benefit" has always been a source of stability in South Asia (The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, 2014), which Afghanistan includes this strategy. In retrospect, China's policy towards Afghanistan is a collection of distinct bilateral relationships, characterized by economic opportunities, and security concern. Therefore, China's engagement with Afghanistan can be viewed from three perspectives.

**First**, China looks to Afghanistan from the security point of view, from this perspective, China thought at the beginning, with the onset of US attacks on Afghanistan, that one of its most concerning security threats (Taliban) is destroying, but the US military presence in its neighborhood turned to be a much bigger threat, which, should be resolved in a desirable way. The **second** comment concerns the economic dimension of relations. From this perspective, China, based on the win-win strategy, wants to bring economic prosperity to Afghanistan, so, it wants to make economic investments in a safe and secure place. The **third** view, China considers Afghanistan as an independent factor, not in the light of the United States and NATO. China is pursuing a distinct distinction to restore stability in Afghanistan from what the United States has done during its occupation of Afghanistan for 17 years (Shafiee and Roohallah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, pp95-96). Thus, China's prime minister, Li Keqiang, during a press conference, points out the Chinese government's view towards Afghanistan as follows: First, Afghanistan must be managed and led by the Afghans themselves; second, political reconciliation must be accepted by all parties as a political solution. Third, there must be an effort to rebuild the economy. Fourth, Afghanistan's path should be provided for the development and support of foreign countries.

### 3.2. US foreign policy

Afghanistan has created a special geopolitical charm for the United States which located outside the US security zone and as a country which has been located to the neighboring countries of China, Russia, Pakistan, and Iran. The US foreign policy towards Afghanistan historically can be considered in five stages: The first period; Neglect and Preventing the Influence of Communism (1945-1979). Second period: indirect involvement and support of the Mujahidin against the government (1979- 1991). Third period, forgetfulness period (1991-1995). The fourth period, return (1995 -2001), and the fifth period, military intervention and colonialism from 2001 to 2019.

### **3.2.1. The first phase of US policy toward Afghanistan "1945-1979."**

The importance of Afghanistan's strategic position as a neighboring country to the Soviet Union and British India became clearer for the defense ministry of US (Tamana, 2008, pp104-105). Due to Cold War rivals, especially after 1954, the Soviet military aid to Afghanistan increased, and comprehensive agreements were signed with the Soviet Union. As a result, the United States opened the permanent presence in Kabul in 1943 as a result of the Second World War's pressure, as well as America's attention to Afghanistan was increased in 1979 based on the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan (Roohzunda, 2005, p112).

### **3.2.2. The second phase of US policy toward Afghanistan "1979-1990."**

In 1979, the United States approach was changed towards Afghanistan. Afghanistan, which has basically had a diminutive role in US foreign policy, with the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, it was considered an important geopolitical location by the defense and foreign affairs ministers of US. At the time of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan until the presidency of Reagan in America, the United States wanted to intervene in Afghanistan affairs but did not have any real control over it (Ahmadi, 2010, p210). One month after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, US president Carter announced that the occupation of Afghanistan is a threat to US interests, and formed a coalition that is composed of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United Kingdom against the Soviet Union (Friedman, 2007, p74).

According to the military regulations of the Russian Federation government in 1993, Moscow knew the strategic importance of Afghanistan, and this view led the United States to enter the line of Afghanistan affairs. In this time, Brzezinski, National Security Advisor of US president Carter, designed the Carter Doctrine on Afghanistan. The doctrine was formed on the basis of the support of the opponents of the Democratic Republic government of Afghanistan, which enjoyed widespread support from the Soviet Union, and it paved the way for American retaliation for the Vietnam War. Later, with the victory of the Mujahideen groups and with the formation of the government in 1992, a mysterious era in United States relations with Afghanistan was created. America's relations with the mujahideen government were stopped, and the relationship between the two governments reached a crisis resulting in the United States backing the formation of the Taliban militant group that was created in the first time in the district of Maiwand, Kandahar province (Sitiz, 2010, p5).

### **3.2.3. The third phase of US policy toward Afghanistan "1991-2001."**

With the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan, the United States, which no longer saw its vital interests in Afghanistan, had left Afghanistan (Tamana, 2017 p109). The US's goal was to support the Taliban as a barrier to isolate Iran and Russia in Afghanistan (Babran and Hatif Poor Rushishidi, 2011, p106). Richard Nixon, in his book "Beyond Peace" in 1994 wrote: "Afghanistan has not lost its strategic importance as a decisive factor in Central Asia. Britain recognized the importance of this country in the nineteenth century; as the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, it was well known for its importance. Today, we must understand the reality of this geopolitics (Ahmadi, 2010, pp94-95).

### **3.2.4. The fourth phase of US policy toward Afghanistan "2001-2019."**

The fourth phase starts after 9/11, 2001, and the US military presence in Afghanistan: this phase is a new and different phase from the past. The United States has come out of the traditional phase and has located in hegemonic phase in its relationship (Hossain Ershad, 2014, p8). The isolationist policy has changed to the policy of international intervention, since that time, the United States has clearly pursued its interests in various countries. Attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq are examples of US intervention (Qadidri, 2013, p6). This stage is the era of US hegemony in relations with Afghanistan, in this period, the United States think more about the geopolitical position on the pretext of the struggle against terrorism (Javadi Arjmand and others, 2015, p1). In order to maintain its

influence over Afghanistan, the United States has launched a war on terror, and this attack on Afghanistan was a tactic and excuse for the United States to be present in Afghanistan (Faraji Rad, and others, 2012, p194).

The United States created a parallel government in Afghanistan for 17 years, which, on the one hand, she has supported the government of Afghanistan, and on the other hand, they have separately used small internal groups, especially in the first time the Taliban, later the ISIS, and this type of US policy caused the terrorist groups to become more aggravated in Afghanistan and the Afghan issues has become more complicated. The United States presence in Afghanistan was justified and represented by the slogan "Combating terrorism, drug trafficking, and human rights abuses in Afghanistan," while the number of deaths in Afghanistan has risen to 45,000 since the American presence over the 17 years. Afghanistan has produced 90% of the world's heroin, and the part of the territory of Afghanistan is still in the hands of the Taliban, and terrorism is becoming stronger every day (Fard, 2014).

### **3.3. Afghanistan and its national interest in foreign relations**

Afghanistan is located in the midst of the three areas of economic, cultural and geopolitical in the region. While Afghanistan has not been able to use its geopolitical position positively, given the lack of clear policies and other components within the country, this geopolitical position has ended up at the expense of Afghanistan's benefits and interests. Afghanistan is a war-torn country, and two decades of war have caused the country to be unable to use its economic capacities and resources. Afghanistan's mines capacity, according to the Afghanistan Geological Survey, indicates that unproduced mines in Afghanistan are qualitatively and quantitatively in the second place of the world's intact mines, in Afghanistan, 1,400 types of minerals have been identified (Wikipedia, Afghan mine). Based on these two characteristics (geopolitical position and mining capacity), Afghan authorities defined their foreign policy as an "economy axis," and stated that Afghanistan could achieve the security and the economy based on these two components. Afghanistan, in a huge picture based on the region and the world, wants to depict four pillars in its foreign policy:

- Excretion of the problem and challenges of the geopolitical and geostrategic position of the country and turning it into an opportunity to interact with regional and trans-regional countries.
- Exploiting the geo-economic position as the energetic geography highway of the countries of the region based on the principle of trade and economics.
- Excretion of the geo-cultures threats from security groups, and returning as the focal point for regional and trans-regional cultures.
- Identity and independence: through the elements mentioned, Afghanistan have strived to consolidate its independence and political identity in international relations and politics (The second round of the National Dialogue Meeting, 2017).

Since Afghanistan's policy is an economy axis policy, and Afghanistan is trying to make good use of the projects that are located on its way, so, the One Belt One Road, TAPI, and CASA-1000 are the projects which described as the most useful in the economy of Afghanistan (Munadi, 2017).

### **3.4. Usefulness and contradictions in the relationships**

This section allows us to examine theories, national interests, and foreign policy views of China, and the United States with an overall and realistic view of their relationship with Afghanistan and the usefulness of their views on the national interest of Afghanistan. It tries to find that, which of these countries can be useful in the view of the Afghan future relations.

So, as study mentioned in the previous section, in Afghanistan's foreign policy (excretion of the geopolitical and geostrategic position challenges of the country and turning it into an opportunity to interact with countries, exploiting from the geo-economic status as a geospatial energy highway and eliminating geo-culture connections towards Security collections) has defined as the provider of stability, security and economic development. In

addition, it paves the way for the Afghan national interest, and the view (economics axis, considering two features of the geopolitical position and economic capacity) can be useful for the future of Afghanistan's relations with other countries. In this section, the study looks at the views of these countries in general, which reflects the past, present and future politics of these countries in relation to Afghanistan. Here is the question: which components and characteristics are tightening of the ties of China, and the US with Afghanistan?

### ■ The People's Republic of China

China's relations with Afghanistan have been defined in three approaches (Open doors Policy, Good neighborhood policy, and win-win strategy) and two Action Plans (Security and Economic). China sees insecurity and terrorism in Afghanistan as a threat to itself, and that's why it has taken economic and financial programs to prevent the rise of terrorism.

First, China's foreign policy emphasizes the economic dimension, and it tries to restrain the internal problems by economic persuasion, this Chinese approach is in full accord with Afghanistan's foreign policy. Afghanistan emphasizes its national interests in foreign policy and relations with countries based on economic aspects. Authorities believe that, given the natural resources which Afghanistan has, it is possible by holding communication with countries can pave the way for extracting these national resources, this is the same approach that the Chinese government has exactly pointed out in its win-win strategy (Qadiri, 2013).

Second, in the security part: China has activated its role at the head of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a mediator for the Afghan peace process (Munadi, 2014), the role of organizing and supporting the continuity of multilateral meetings with Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, and Russia. China's efforts in the Afghan peace process through the formation of the meetings of the members of Shanghai Cooperation Organization is a significant contribution to the Afghan peace process because the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are neighbors of Afghanistan, and each of these countries has common geopolitics. According to the realists of the Copenhagen School, the joint geopolitical provides the common need, and common needs bring a single point of view on security. In the logic of this argument, William Thomas and Grid emphasize that a regional security suite is a set of governments that, maintaining the security of each one to secure another and threaten a member's security is known as the threat to all members of the security community (Azrabs, 2017, pp121-123).

Third: given the win-win strategy based on the One Belt One Road, Afghanistan is ready to accept this initiative, and Afghanistan will receive more benefits to the practice of this project. Afghanistan and China have a complementary economy, and this means that China has huge manufacturing factories which can produce the all goods that Afghanistan needs, and Afghanistan has raw materials to be used in Chinese factories. Afghanistan's vast natural resources need an extraction, while Afghanistan is not capable of the exploitation of it, and China with complementary economic needs and huge production factories needs these raw materials. Therefore, China has the best chance for the production of Afghan natural resources, at some time it can play a good role in the economy of Afghanistan (Aliyar, 2017).

Fourth: Common Security Concerns: In the view of Bozan, neighboring countries that have similar concerns and historically, culturally and geographically they have relatively common memories and destiny, they can soon get communicate to each other, and their relationship will remain stable. It is what connects the fate of China and Afghanistan, the Afghan security challenges have an impact on China's security, the Taliban group and the challenging groups in Xinjiang are consolidating each other, and their consistency causes the vulnerability of China and Afghanistan, therefore, these two countries need to find common solutions to common threats (Nasri, 2005, p599).

Fifth: Terrorism, separatism and fundamentalism, threatens both countries (Afghanistan and China), the rise of fundamentalism and terrorism in Afghanistan increases the opportunities for activities of this group in China's Xinjiang (Huasheng, 2012, p3), hence the Chinese government in the framework of the Copenhagen School is

determined to reduce the threat of these groups by increasing the economic and technical support for the Afghan government.

Sixth: An increase in China's investment in Afghanistan, China is the only country with the highest investment rate among the foreign countries in Afghanistan, the Aynak and Amu Darya (IRA) project are good examples of these investments.

### ■ The United States of America

1. American politics in the world, especially in Afghanistan has taken from the school of realism and liberalism, the characteristics of the school of realism are that, in the anarchic system, the power is a restraining device, this school, in some cases, describes the use of the military as the best solution way. The characteristics of the liberalism school are freedoms such as feminism, secularism, free market, and so on (Aadili, 2017). Also, based on the Bush, Obama and, Trump strategy, the using of military power on Afghanistan issues have been the main principle of the American administration and based on their ideas, the war and increasing military forces were the only solution way for Afghanistan tension.

Given these US policy features, just as Afghanistan has witnessed three decades of war, and Afghanistan has not been able to resolve the conflict through military and war, and it has not had a positive outcome, and even non-governmental organizations in the United States have acknowledged that they have not been successful in Afghanistan through war, so, the American leaders logic is as the weak logic. From the point of view of the realism school and even structuralism, the differences of model sometimes bring challenges in the community, so, for the Afghan people, the Western model such as secularism, feminism and free- market does not match culturally and ideologically with the Afghan people, and this model has been in conflict with the culture and ideology of the Afghan people for many years. In this respect, this issue has created intellectual and cultural contradictions in Afghanistan.

2. As this study has shown earlier the US foreign policy, the American relationship with Afghanistan has been shaped based on geopolitical position, where the Americans have been trying to maintain and keep its presence permanently in Afghanistan. Consequently, the presence of the Americans in Afghanistan has created a kind of confrontation with Afghanistan's neighbors, especially that it has brought about Russia's reaction, and this has led Afghanistan to become a proxy war field (Peshgahi Fard, 2008, p100).

3. To ensure the presence in Afghanistan, the United States has formed a parallel power with the Afghan government, namely the use of opposition groups within the Afghan government, this is also the result of the Americans realistic approach, which, they believe that for surviving in a third country, the using of a parallel power is necessary. Similarly, a portion of US aid in Afghanistan is spent on this policy. Therefore, this policy is a dangerous policy given the contradiction of national interests of Afghanistan (Salimi, 2010).

4. After 9,11, the United States had no interest in implementing economy programs for Afghanistan, which means that, it has not spent any money on infrastructure projects. Officials in Afghanistan say that, the United States has returned at least 70 percent of the aid which has promised to Afghanistan government, which means that US aids were not within the purview of the Afghan government, as part of the money was delivered to American companies in Afghanistan, and through them was spent on the Afghan military (Round- Table on US-Afghanistan Relations, 2017, pp17-18).

### 3.5. Opportunities and Challenges of China-Afghan Relations

As Afghanistan's relations based on the geopolitical situation have been changing for decades, and Afghanistan has experienced ups and downs in its relations with the countries, these relations in their own way have had opportunities and challenges. US relations with Afghanistan are usually formed based on the geopolitical focus of Afghanistan and on the basis of the confrontation (1/Afghanistan in the Post-Cold War World 2006, pp10-11). On

the other hand, this confrontation, physical presence, and proxy war disabled the body of Afghanistan. Insecurity, economic poverty, drugs, and unemployment are the phenomena that the people of Afghanistan have experienced based on this confrontation (Epatko, 2014).

But China-Afghanistan relations are beyond the goals and policies that the United States has pursued in Afghanistan. China as a neighbor of Afghanistan sees extremism as a potential threat to its territory (Ghiasy, 2017). Afghanistan and China relationship has entered a new phase in recent years, and the good opportunities are emerging in the relationships between the two countries, and these opportunities are predictable in two areas: First, changes in the nature of the policy of the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, Second, the announcement of the failure of the United States in Afghanistan, and the preparedness of the United States for its withdrawal from Afghanistan (Challenges and opportunities for China to invest in Afghanistan, 2013).

#### ■ **Changes in the nature of the foreign policy of neighboring countries**

The neighboring countries of Afghanistan, including the Central Asian countries, have changed the nature of their policies towards the United States. Today, these countries, in addition to changing their vision about the United States, have increased their focus on the fight against terrorism, and their understanding of the nature of terrorism has changed. Also, these countries are at the same time as the main or observer member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It is guessed that the overall consensus on the vision in the security complex (Shanghai Cooperation organization) are taking place about Afghanistan issue. What is optimistic is that China as a friend of the Pakistan country, the country that has become the key to Afghanistan's peace, has been mediating and coordinating about the peace process between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The coordination is getting stronger, as China feels more responsibility about Afghanistan, given its commitment to having a good relationship with Afghanistan and given the threat posed by terrorists, and also, given the greater influence which has in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and in the region, it can play a bigger role in Afghanistan's peace and security agenda.

#### ■ **Preparation of the US's withdrawal from Afghanistan**

Since the beginning of the US presence in Afghanistan has taken 18 years, and more than \$ 700 billion of US budget has been spent on the war. In the meantime, the United States has been accused based on its dual function, as well as, a senior American journalist Richard Cohen wrote in the Washington Post that, the war in Afghanistan is not over, and the United States cannot win (Afghanistan sputnik, 2017). Therefore, given the reactions of civil society, media and political parties in the United States, the US government has been forced to retreat with a tactic from Afghanistan, and this is more likely. Meanwhile, the US is negotiating with the Taliban, which will find a logical excuse for its withdrawal. If this scenario is used and Afghanistan's neighbors come together in Afghan affairs, it is likely that the relationship between China and Afghanistan will enter a new phase.

At the same time, to expand this relationship, there is a series of challenges: the presence of the United States in Afghanistan has created a series of challenges for the further growth of Afghanistan-China relations. Also, at the same time, US withdrawal from Afghanistan is likely to add challenges in the region. As well as, war and insecurity in Afghanistan are another challenges in Afghanistan's relations with China. In addition, Afghan-Pakistani tensions have somehow affected China-Afghanistan relations as a challenge to their relationship.

#### **A. The presence of the US in Afghanistan**

US presence in Afghanistan defines a potential threat to China-Afghanistan relations. The main purpose of the United States in Afghanistan is to interact and influence neighboring Afghanistan, for being effective in the region. The United States is trying to reduce the role of neighboring countries in their relationship with Afghanistan, and this effort has been fully seen in the US program in Afghanistan yet.

#### **B. The power vacuum in Afghanistan**

A vacuum of power will arise based on the withdrawal of US and NATO troops from Afghanistan. If this issue is not managed after the withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan, it will create an uncertain future for Afghanistan as well as this will be a challenge for the security structure of the region. This issue may have posed challenges in China-Afghanistan relations (Shafiee and Roohallah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, p89).

### **C. The tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan**

Afghanistan and Pakistan have been in conflict over time, Durand Line, the support given by Pakistan to the Taliban groups in Afghanistan, and India's role in Afghanistan, and all form the axis of tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan, these issues are relatively like a shadow in the relationship between China and Afghanistan. Because, on the one hand, the nickname of Pakistan in China is "a steely friend," meaning a completely reliable friend, on the other hand, China wants to progress its relations with Afghanistan. Accordingly, the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan sometimes create a shadow in the context of the Afghan-Chinese relations (Andishmand, 2007).

### **D. Insecurity in Afghanistan**

The security issue of Afghanistan is paramount for Beijing, the security issue in Aynak copper and Amu Darya projects, the possibility of influencing the insecurity in China's province of Xinjiang that is on the borders of Afghanistan, and the threat of insecurity to implement One Belt One Road project are the issues which China has concerns over based on the insecurity situation of Afghanistan. In general, insecurity in Afghanistan will be insecurity in the region. With this situation, insecurity in Afghanistan will create challenges for China (Lynne, 2016). On the other hand, any instability or lack of government control in Central Asia directly affects the economic security of China, in particular, the security of oil and gas pipelines, where there are currently two oil pipelines and four gas pipelines between China and Central Asia. Based on a huge perspective, Central Asia is the western gateway to the Chinese Silk Road. If Central Asia is unstable, the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt will be widely difficult (Shafiee and Roohallah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, p88).

## **4. Findings and discussion**

### **4.1. Strong and shared points in China-Afghanistan relations**

Given the geopolitical position of Afghanistan in the neighborhood of the People's Republic of China and given the Chinese plans in its relations with neighboring countries, especially Afghanistan, a number of points can be identified and analyzed as strong and shared points in the relations between Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China. Understanding these points can be analyzable for Afghanistan based on the People's Republic of China's initiative, such as One Belt One Road and its activities in the context of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

#### **4.1.1. Afghanistan in One Belt One Road project**

Historical symbols of the Silk Road indicate that Afghanistan has been one of the focal points for connecting cultures and traditions to more than two thousand years. Thus, this country has been the crossroads of all trade routes to China, the Middle East, and Europe. The initiative of One Belt One Road which is economics initiative, at the same time affects the security field (Afghanistan. silk road).

##### **4.1.1.1. Economic dimension:**

- As the broader scope, this initiative, by creating a convergence between the countries of the path, it can play an important role in reducing the opportunities and motivations of extremist and terrorist movements (The International Assembly of the Collaboration of OBOR 2017). Given the fact that fundamentalism can be reduced by the use of the economic program, this is predictable, because a large part of the ominous movements in Afghanistan is due to the lack of job opportunities and economic insufficiencies (Kyle, 2017).
- China needs to bazaar for its export goods while also requiring energy imports, hence China, through the decision of the OBOR project, wants to fully meet the diverse needs of its and the countries located in the path of this project (Torabi and Raziye Saneie, 2015). Here, Afghanistan is a good market for both commodity consumption

and China's energy needs, because in Afghanistan, according to the geological survey of Afghanistan, the value of oil and gas in Afghanistan has estimated \$ 1131.840 trillion, in Afghanistan 1,400 types of minerals have been identified (Wikipedia, Mining in Afghanistan). On the other hand, Afghanistan gains a large of its consumer goods from China by passing the second or third countries, if Afghanistan gains the One Belt One Road project, this will be considered an economic development and transformation in Afghanistan.

- The initiative of One Belt One Road, in addition to building peace and developing joint partnerships between the countries of the path, can provide a countless occupation opportunity for Afghanistan both inside and outside the border. Afghanistan is the country that has the highest unemployment among youth.
- Since the volume of transit that will transport through the corridor One Belt One Road, the probability is much higher than the other routes currently Afghanistan has using, the signing of the project's membership agreement of the OBOR, and Afghanistan's entry into this project, provides a very good economic opportunity for Afghanistan. When this issue is remarkable in nature and outcomes (The International Assembly of the Collaboration of One Belt-One Road project, 2017), Afghanistan has not still a direct route to China, its volume of exports and imports between China and Afghanistan reached 1 billion yearly. Also, China is a good market for Afghan goods, because, in the past, Afghanistan's goods were exported to China through the market of third countries (Pakistan), holding Pakistan's trademark. If this route becomes open for Afghanistan, Afghanistan would have its own trademark along with having access to large markets within the shortest time (Mohmand, 2017).
- In all transit corridors, political parameters are important issues, and geopolitical politics discussions are existing as well, and for this reason, there is not necessarily the full economic incentive for them. So, there is necessary for countries always to consider one or more alternate transit routes to use them when they face the problem for transportation of goods with their neighboring countries. Afghanistan is one of the countries that has repeatedly experienced this problem based on the transit arena with the neighboring countries such as Pakistan and Iran, which sometimes reached the level of stopping the cars of Afghanistan from crossing borders, where consequently the goods have turned out dirty. Interestingly the Wakhan Corridor, which directly connects China to Afghanistan, will solve such a dilemma.
- China has shown its goodwill based on the implementation of this plan by providing the latest technology, lending, and investment, and also will provide a new dimension to the economic growth of countries involved in this path, including Afghanistan. Given these hopes, Afghanistan can achieve good economic growth by means of extraction of its rich mines.
- Another priority of this plan is to reduce the barriers from the members of the OBOR countries which have faced in free trade, investment, industrial cooperation, technical and engineering services. While, in this regard, in the document of OBOR initiative has emphasized the development of a free trade zone, the improvement of the business structure, the search for new areas for business growth and the promotion of a commercial equilibrium (The International Assembly of the Collaboration of One Belt-One Road project, 2017, pp8-10).
- The other priority of this plan is to connect people together. From the perspective of the initiative's narratives, the transplantation of the people of the member states provides each other with a platform for their participation and public support for the plan (Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road, 2015). In this framework, the promotion of cultural and academic interactions, media, youth and women's interactions of member countries with the aim of gaining public support for the expansion of cooperation. Accordingly, in line with the objectives of the project, there will be an awarding of 10,000 scholarships to students of OBOR countries to study in China (Nai, 2016, pp101-104).

#### 4.1.1.2. Security dimension:

Cooperation in this project is a kind of practical cooperation that will strengthen the commercial ability of the countries which are located in the project way. On a wider scale, this plan can play an important role in reducing the opportunities and motivations of extremist and terrorist movements by creating a convergence between countries on the path, because the countries that are on the path to this plan will find a common vision in the fight against terrorism. In the case of Afghanistan, the countries which connect by Afghanistan to China will find a common point of view towards Afghanistan (The International Assembly of the Collaboration of One Belt-One Road project, 2017).

#### 4.1.2. Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Afghanistan's security

The member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization are often neighbors of Afghanistan. Their views on Afghanistan are centered on security. Insecurity in Afghanistan is considered a potential threat to these countries. From Bazan's point of view, national security and international security are understood by regional security. Consequently, the appropriate foreign policy of each country with respect to the Copenhagen School is a policy that pays special attention to multi-dimensional security and looks to its national security, especially to its regional security (Azrabsh, 2017, p143).

From the point of view of scientists, the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation organization have understood this important point, which is, insecurity in Afghanistan means insecurity in their countries. China, given the pervasive influence on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and based on being a neighbor of Afghanistan, and based on deep friendship with Pakistan country, has a greater role in bringing peace in Afghanistan. China's goal is to be able to come up with an appropriate solution in Afghan affairs by coordinating views. And these activities show convergence in the region (Sajid, p6).

In confirmation of the Copenhagen School view, the history of international relations also shows that, as powers grow of a country, its attention extends first to neighbors and more emphasis on the surrounding areas to expand its relation. Based on this perspective, China understood the concerns of Afghanistan and wants to resolve it through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. According to Chinese expert Andrew Small, what is striking in Central Asian countries is that China is the only actor who can provide the necessary investment in Central Asia and Afghanistan and get succeeded. So, a stable Afghanistan has crucial importance for China to reach a security coalition (Shafiee and Ruhollah Salehi Dolat Abadi, 2017, pp7-24). On the other hand, no security organization in the region has this regional integration based on Afghanistan affairs and needs. So, Shanghai Cooperation organization has this property in regional integration based on Afghanistan affairs.

#### Conclusion

This paper begins by highlighting the points that define the path of the relationship between the People's Republic of China and Afghanistan, and it does this through emphasizing the importance of these relations, useful ways, the superiority of relations between China and Afghanistan compared to Afghanistan's relations with the United States. It explains the limitations and challenges these relationships abound with the prediction of the necessary strategies. The importance of these relationships can be expressed based on several components. First, Afghanistan and China have common vulnerabilities as two neighboring countries, meaning security in Afghanistan has a positive impact on the security of China, thus, given the shared interests and mutual threat between the two countries, security aspect has continuously emphasized the importance of these relationships.

National interests in relations between the two countries have been defined on the basis of these two common grounds of "security and economy." That's why, China tries to help Afghanistan in the economic growth arena and wants to prevent extremism in Afghanistan through the advantage of the economic persuasion, so this strategy and mechanism have defined as one of the options for preventing extremism in Afghanistan's foreign policy.

Secondly, the other importance of this relationship can be expressible with the emphasis on the strategic position of Afghanistan. The implementation of the One Belt One Road project where Afghanistan is one of the main paths of this project will face a security-wise problem if Afghanistan is insecure. Therefore, China is trying to play a positive role in the stability of Afghanistan, in order to regain Afghanistan's security and stability.

Thirdly, one crucial aspect of shaping Afghan-China relations is linked to the OBOR project. Afghanistan will solve some of its economic and security problems by means of the benefits that it is getting from this project. The main characteristics of this project in the area of regional integration are in the field of security and economic prosperity. Based on that and based on the benefits one country can get from this project, Afghanistan could solve fifty percent of its economic and trade challenges.

Also, the success of the relationship between Afghanistan and the People's Republic of China can be clear, in light of comparing to the relationship between Afghanistan and the United States, as explained in the following: First, based on the geopolitical perspective, neighboring countries do have a great impact on a country's security. So, China, with its focus on Afghanistan's security issue, and due to being at the head of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's activities and security-related complexities, she can have the greatest impact on Afghan security issues. Because, most of the Shanghai Cooperation organization's members are Afghanistan's neighbors; therefore, security threats in Afghanistan are considered a common threat to these countries, in this case, these countries will find a unified view on Afghanistan's issues under the Shanghai Security Organization. From the point of view of international relations schools, the common threats and common interests create convergence in the region, and therefore, in the security case of Afghanistan, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization complex is a case in point. Also, China, given its close relationship with Pakistan as a steely friend, can play an acceptable role as a mediator in the Afghan-Pakistan tension, as well as in the Afghan peace process. Second, based on common interests and common threat, China has defined its threats including the threat of extremist's groups, which China considers a danger to its security. Based on this fact, China's major efforts in securing Afghanistan from these groups is true rather than being a mere political game, as the case of the United States. Third, Afghanistan imports a large part of its goods from China. At the same time, China is considered to be the largest foreign investor in Afghanistan.

But Afghanistan's relations with the United States have been on the contrary to these views. US relations in Afghanistan have been defined in US doctrine by fighting against terrorism in order to prevent terrorist attacks in the US, while, in fact, the US presence in Afghanistan, as confirmed in different studies, is back to the US interest in the geopolitical position of Afghanistan. In both cases, based on international relations schools approach the searching of terrorism in the second geography is irrational and undesirable as it has recently been proven that the United States, despite the massive use of money, could not bring peace in Afghanistan. The presence of the United States in the geography of Afghanistan, as the geopolitical area of the region, has led to the confrontation of the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, and she is not useful for Afghanistan.

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# The Social Representation of the Yellow Vests Among Young French People: An Exploratory Study

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## Abstract

The crisis of the Yellow Vests in France has vastly occupied the media scene since November 2018, and the Great National Debate has just come to an end. The hypothesis can be put forward that the Yellow Vests have become an object of social representation over the months. This exploratory study was performed among a population of young people (average age= 20.5) and took place in two phases: a free associations test to isolate the big themes and a first structure of the social representation (N=11), and a questionnaire of "calling into question" (N=94) to confirm the central or peripheral position of the items. The collection of data 4 months after the beginning of the movement does not put forward the first claims such as the spending power and attests for the media coverage of violence. The Chi-Squared Test shows some significant differences between men and women.

**Keywords:** Yellow Vests, Social Representation, Young People, Risky Situation, Media, Gender

## 1. Introduction

Today, who has never heard of the "Yellow Vest crisis"? Inexistent up to a few months ago, this social protest movement is in the news headlines, and no-one can escape this issue whether in the newspapers, on television, on the social networks or even in discussions among friends. This movement which began in November 2018 led to a Great National Debate in March 2019.

When the Yellow Vests define themselves as apolitical, it must not be forgotten that this movement results from dissatisfaction with the internal politics of our country and the feeling of certain classes of an increase in social fractures and inequality. If the trigger of this social crisis seems to be the price of petrol, we can indeed observe a combination of political and social demands such as the increase of the minimum wages, the recourse to a Citizens' Initiative Referendum or the question of retirement or rural isolation for example. Moreover, politicians and trade

unions have taken up the questions and demands raised by the Yellow Vests. In this climate, it seems interesting to study the social representation that young people have of the Yellow Vests. Even if there exist no studies backed up by figures on the subject, several sources indeed note that young people were absent from the Great National Debates meetings.

*The concept of social representation and the object: "Yellow Vests."*

The concept of social representation resulting from the work of Moscovici (1961) defines a set of common sense knowledge articulated with practices. According to Flament and Rouquette (2003), to be an object of social representation, there must be two minimum clauses. First, the object should be a frequent reference in social communication (socio-cognitive salience). Second, there must be common practices relating to the object among the population studied. According to the structural approach originally developed by Abric (1976, 1993) and Flament (1994), the elements of representation are organized around two entities: the central core and the periphery. These two entities have complementary aspects: collective vs. individual, stable vs. changing, homogeneous vs. diversified aspects. The central core corresponds to the elements shared by the group and contains "necessary" elements for the recognition of the object. The periphery is linked to individual practices and includes an essential characteristic which is conditionality; its main function is to protect the central core and absorb contradictions by avoiding a questioning of its meaning.

Originally, the yellow vests are yellow-fluo clothes intended to improve the visibility of any person near a road, in a dangerous situation or on building sites. However, since November 2018 the crisis of "Yellow Vests" could be at the origin of the development of a new object of social representation. Regarding the visibility of the social object and the fact that it is at the center of social issues, it can be seen that the object "Yellow Vests" is a frequent reference in social communications. These last months have been marked by increasing media coverage of the movement of the Yellow Vests, in particular through the social demands that this makes emerge, as well as the economic consequences that it involves. At the end of 2018, the indicators positioned this theme as central in the news. According to Sebbah, Souillard, Smyrniaos, and Thiong-Kay (2018), 731 articles were published on this subject between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of November, 87 of which only on November 23<sup>rd</sup> of 2018, by taking account ten national daily newspapers alone. It, therefore, seems difficult not to receive information on this movement, explaining an obvious and exacerbated visibility of it in our society. This movement is popular and Yellow Vests are present in every city of the French territory, both in Metropolitan France and overseas. This is not a movement that is limited to the capital, nor a movement only regional.

According to a study published in December 2018 by the Viavoice Institute and relayed by the newspaper Libération, 15% of respondents said they personally participated in the movement of Yellow Vests during events. In addition, 29% said they had followed it on a social network or by signing a petition, and finally, 50% of French people knew "Yellow Vests" in their close entourage (friends, family, colleagues...).

Regarding social issues, the movement of Yellow Vests is based on deep social discontent. Originally linked to the price of gasoline, the claims today are many and varied. According to Baruch, Breteau, Damgé, Durand, and Vaudano (2018), a list composed of some forty varied and heterogeneous demands was sent to the media and to the deputies on November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

Among these claims, a set concerns topics related to spending power (increase of the SMIC (Minimum Wage of Growth)), taxation (return to the ISF (Wealth tax)), the economy, public services, immigration or even the ecology. All these themes carry important social issues. Moreover, faced with the pressure of this movement, The President Emmanuel Macron announced on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 2018, a number of political and social measures such as the increase of the SMIC or the removal of the CSG (The General Social Contribution) for retirees. According to ViaVoice Institute' Preud'homme (2018), the main reasons of this broad social mobilization are due to gasoline price, considered as the main daily life problem for 48% of French people. But "the current problems of French people are not only economical" (our translation) (Preud'homme, 2018, p.5) because 52% of citizens

feel that “the political executives are not representing them nor listen to them” (our translation) (Preud’homme, 2018, p.5). To answer those claims, a Great Public Debate was launched on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2019 in order to discuss solutions to improve the daily life of French citizens. According to some media sources, French youth would have overlooked this debate.

As data collection took place in February/March 2019, i.e., 4 months after the start of the movement, the following assumptions are made:

H1: The Yellow Vests are an object of social representation.

H2: The central elements of the representation are constituted around elements reflecting a situation of violence.

This hypothesis aims to verify that the crisis of Yellow Vests that has taken place a few months ago has evolved into a representation linked to scenes of violence widely spread in the media.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Target population and characteristics

There are several reasons for choosing a youth population for this research. The first is that since the 1990s, youth abstention has been steadily increasing, reaching 64% in the last regional elections (Revault d'Allones, 2019). Indeed, "young people who vote are in the minority; if we count the abstainers and those who are not registered on the electoral lists, only a small half of the young people of voting age go to the polls" (our translation) (Muxel, 2001, p.42).

According to Muxel (2001), the increase in abstentionism and the white vote or the vote for extremes are signs of discontent, a form of protest against the political world. If we are interested in polls conducted after the first round of presidential elections in 2017 and published in *Le Figaro* by Quinault-Maupoil (2017), according to the BVA institute, 18-24 year olds voted Jean-Luc Mélenchon up to 27% and Marine Le Pen, as well as Emmanuel Macron up to 21%. If we are interested in the data published by IPSOS, this age group would have mainly voted for Jean-Luc Mélenchon (30%) before Marine Le Pen (21%). Given these votes, we could conclude that there is some protest against the political world in the youth population. We can note also, a certain similarity of vote with the Yellow Vests, since according to the study conducted with 526 Yellow Vests throughout France, by the collective "Critical Quantity" in 2018 and coordinated by Yann Le Lann, senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Lille, the results on the presidential votes of 2017 show that Marine Le Pen and Jean-Luc Mélenchon are both leading with 20% of the vote. The other reason for choosing young people is that it is a population in which political issues have a strong influence since it is at this age that one acquires the right to vote.

In this research, 11 young people were first subjected to preliminary testing of free associations. Then 94 subjects made up of 38 men (40.4% of this sample) and 56 women (59.6) completed a questionnaire. Those young people come from all over France. The average age of the participants group is about 20.45 years old (SD = 1.67), (men: 20.42 years old (SD = 1.35); women: 20.48 years old (SD = 1.87)). Most of the sample is made up of students, 58.5% of the young people live in an urban area (41.5% in a rural area); 93.6% do not belong to a union (6.4% do).

### 2.2. Tools

#### 2.2.1. The free associations test

In order to elaborate on the questionnaire of "calling into question" the first phase of free associations was carried out with 11 young people. The free associations test widely used in the studies of social representations allow the content of the social representations to be gathered spontaneously from an inductor. The instruction was the following: "When you hear 'Yellow Vests,' which words or expressions come to mind ?" From this instruction, several items were retained.

### *2.2.2. The Questionnaire of calling into question*

Certain themes arising from the free associations phase were called into question. This technique proposed by Moliner (1989) allows the centrality of the elements to be tested and rests on the principle of the double negative. Knowing that the central elements are necessary to recognize the object, the elements of the representation are called into question with this principle. If the respondents do not recognize the object when an element is questioned it means that it is a central element; if the respondents still recognize the object after its being questioned, it means that it is a peripheral element. This method has been used with a variety of formulations and scales of response. In this study, we adopted a formulation already used for another object (Dany and Apostolidis, 2007). The formulation is the following: "Can it be said of a demonstrator (ambiguous object) who.... (followed by one of the 10 items retained in its negative form which corresponds to the first negative) that he or she is a Yellow Vest (object of social representation studied)?"

We chose a scale of response in 5 points ranging from 1 (He or she is certainly not a Yellow Vest ) to 5 (He or she is very certainly a Yellow Vest) with a median response (I do not know). If the respondent does not agree it is the second negative of the model. The results lead to levels of refutation; the highest confirm the centrality of the elements.

The data was gathered through a campaign of messages via social networks Facebook. The questionnaire posted was carried out by means of the application of Google Form.

### *2.3. Analysis strategies*

The analysis of free associations is based on the prototypical method. This method rests on the cross-checking between the frequency of terms and the average rank of appearance. The "Vergès" software (2005) allows to identify the 4 zones structuring the social representation: the central core with the words more frequent and given in the first ranks; the first periphery, which includes either the most frequent words given in the last ranks, or the least frequent words given in the first ranks; the second periphery includes the words infrequent and given in the last ranks. This method has been widely used near different populations to describe the structure of social representation (e.g., Gaymard, 2014b ; Gaymard & Bordarie, 2015; Gaymard & Engelmann, 2016; Gaymard & Joly, 2013).

Concerning the "calling into question," we have grouped the levels in the following way: 1 and 2 (it is not a Yellow Vest); 3 (I do not know); steps 4 and 5 (it's a Yellow Vest). These groupings make it possible to obtain the refutation percentage (steps 1 and 2). When it is high, it means that when the element is implicated, the object "Yellow Vest" is no longer recognized; the element is, therefore, necessary and considered to be central. Chi-square tests were performed to compare frequencies by gender and place of residence.

## **3. Results**

### *3.1. The free associations*

The participants having almost all given 5 words, this makes it possible to calculate an average rank at 2.5; up to this threshold, it is considered that the given terms are in the first ranks of appearance and beyond this threshold, the terms are part of the last ranks of appearance. Regarding the frequency of the terms and given the small sample, the high threshold was set at 27%; words or expressions given at least 3 times are considered frequent, and below this threshold, they are part of a low frequency. The table extracted from the Vergès software isolates as central elements during this first stage: "blocking roundabouts" and "social classes / class struggles." It can be seen that the element "spending power" appears in the second periphery (Table 1).

Table 1: The social representation of the Yellow Vests among young people (preliminary phase).

		First rank ≤ 2.5		Last rank >2.5	
		<b>Central words</b>		<b>First periphery</b>	
High frequency	Blocking roundabouts	27%	1.67	Demonstrations/ Social demands	36% 4.5
	Social classes/ /Class Struggles	55%	2.50	Rioters Change	27% 27% 4.00
					<b>Second periphery</b>
		<b>First periphery</b>			
		Repressed		Anger	
		18%	1.50	18%	3.50
		Political revolt		Spending power	
		18%	1.00	18%	4.00
Low frequency	Useful cause	18%	1.00		
	Courageous	18%	1.50		
	Referendum	9%	2.00		
	Paris	9%	2.00		
	Unjustified violence	9%	2.00		

### 3.1. The "calling into question."

From this collection of associations, 10 elements appearing either in the central core or in the first periphery have been tested. Given the small size of the first step, the selection of certain elements cannot be based on a data systematic analysis. If one retains the usual thresholds of refutation to consider that an element is central or not (Flament & Rouquette, 2003), it emerges from this second stage that the central elements are "courageous," "repressed" and "unjustified violence" (Table 2).

Table 2: Results to the "calling into question" (decreasing ranking of the refutation rate)

	It is a Yellow Vest	I do not know	It is not a Yellow Vest
"Can it be said of a demonstrator who is not courageous that he or she is a Yellow Vest"?	5 (5.2%)	12 (12.8 %)	<b>77 (82%) (central)</b>
...who is not repressed...	11 (11.7%)	11 (11.7%)	<b>72 (76.6%) (central)</b>
...who does not face to unjustified violence ...	12 (12.8 %)	11 (11.7%)	<b>71 (75.5%) (central)</b>
...who does not block the roads...	15 (16%)	11(11.7%)	68 (72.3%)
...who does not defend a useful cause...	11 (11.7%)	16 (17%)	67 (71.3%)
...who does not manifest for a referendum...	11 (11.7%)	18 (19.15%)	65 (69.15%)
...who does not manifest for a political cause...	16 (17%)	14 (14.9%)	64 (68.1%)
...who does not block the roundabouts...	19 (20.2%)	12 (12.8%)	63 (67%)
...who does not invest in the class struggle...	14 (14.9%)	17 (18.1%)	63 (67%)

...who does not manifest in Paris...	15 (16%)	25 (26.6%)	54 (57.4%)
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The Chi2 tests show some significant differences, not according to the place of residence (urban vs. rural) but according to gender. These differences concern the items "unjustified violence," "useful cause" and "referendum"; a trend toward significance is observed with the item "repressed" (Table 3).

Table 3: Chi-squared Test (Pearson) with gender and place of residence

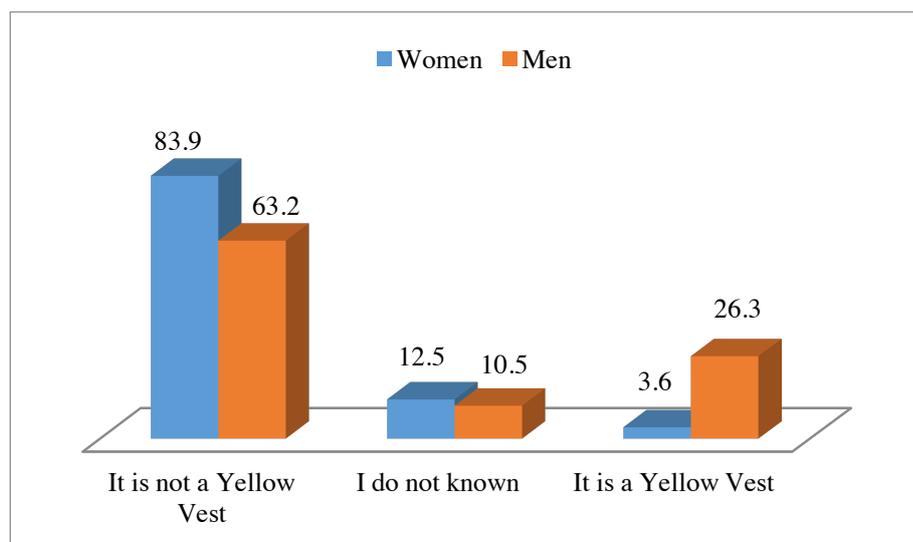
	Gender		Place of residence	
	Chi2 value	P	Chi2 value	P
Courageous	1.496	.473	1.309	.520
Repressed	5.398	.067 <sup>b</sup>	3.307	.191
<b>Unjustified Violence</b>	10.542	<b>.005<sup>a</sup></b>	1.113	.573
block the roads	.131	.936	.520	.771
<b>Useful cause</b>	6.420	<b>.040</b>	4.110	.128
<b>referendum</b>	6.065	<b>.048</b>	2.096	.351
Political cause	2.789	.248	.837	.658
Block roundabouts	3.735	.154	1.175	.556
Class struggle	.470	.791	.013	.994
Manifest in Paris	.879	.644	1.592	.451

<sup>a</sup> In bold, significant differences

<sup>b</sup> Trend toward significance

When we look in detail at the frequency's distributions, concerning the 3 significant items and the one with a trend toward significance, roughly they have all the same profile: the women's refutation rate is higher, and there are more men who continue to recognize the object (see for example the illustration of the item "unjustified violence" (fig 1)). Nevertheless, among these items two are central ("repressed," "unjustified violence" see Table 2) because they have a refutation rate globally higher, the 2 other items are peripheral ("useful cause"; "referendum").

Figure 1: Can it be said of a demonstrator who does not face unjustified violence that he or she is a Yellow Vest? (Percentages)



#### 4. Discussion

The Yellow Vests crisis started in November 2018, and five months later, it is still part of the news. Today, 50% of French people still express support or sympathy for the Yellow Vests<sup>1</sup>. The recent character of this movement explains the lack of scientific publication in the Human and Social Sciences on this subject.

This study in the field of social representations (Abric, 1993; Flament 1994; Gaymard, 2014a) had the objective of validating two hypotheses: one on the Yellow Vests as an object of social representation and the other on the centrality of violence given the news and images conveyed by the media.

The observed results validate these two hypotheses. The Yellow Vests have become over the time an object of social representation. The preliminary phase of this study with the free association method (Vergès, 2005) shows that the social representation is structured around two central elements which are: blocking roundabouts and class struggle. Moreover, it can be seen that the "spending power" element is in the second periphery while it was one of the first claims at the beginning of the movement; this confirms the evolution of it over the months. One might think that if we had collected the characteristic elements of this movement when it was born, the spending power would have been more important.

In order to verify the centrality of the elements, the calling into question method was applied. The results of this second phase by applying the usual limit of the refutation rate (75%) show that it is elements that appeared as peripheral during the preliminary phase that becomes central. Indeed, when the elements "courageous", "repressed" or "unjustified violence" are questioned, respondents no longer recognize the object of social representation (refutation rates 82%, 76.6%, and 75.5%, respectively); we can, therefore, consider that these elements are necessary for the object "Yellow Vests". Conversely, by calling into question the elements "blocking roundabouts" and "class struggle," the refutation rate (67%) indicate that the Yellow Vest object is still recognized; these elements are therefore peripheral. These new results confirm the evolution of the movement of Yellow Vests over time and validate the second hypothesis. Media images have crystallized the movement of the Yellow Vests around the violence but especially around a perceived injustice because the Yellow Vests are seen as courageous and unjustly repressed. These elements may explain why a part of the population still expresses sympathy for this movement.

Another interesting result of this study is based on Chi2 tests. There is no significant difference depending on the place of residence (Urban vs. rural), however, there are significant differences depending on gender. So, women consider more than men that yellow vests are repressed, face unjustified violence, defend a useful cause and protest for a referendum. This feeling of injustice and revolt is thus more prominent in women. This seems to support analyzes on social networks that highlight themes such as: "*Women at the forefront of the revolt of Yellow Vests*" (our translation) ; Beyond the explanations given to their commitment as the fact that they are more affected by economic precariousness, it is interesting to observe in our exploratory sample of young people an increased sensitivity among women. These results confirm that the Yellow Vest crisis represents a particular turning point for women and that they feel it accordingly.

*"This is something relatively new, and probably a historic turning point in the history of social struggles. They (the women) were massively on the roundabouts and in the demonstrations. An even newer phenomenon is women of all ages, young and old, who have courageously embarked on subversive action"* (our translation)<sup>2</sup>.

Finally, the Yellow Vests crisis that began in November 2018 with the price of petrol has become over time a means of expression, especially for women.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://elabe.fr/gilets-jaunes-grand-debat-national-2/>

<sup>2</sup> Extrait de « Les femmes, la violence policière et les gilets jaunes » (publié sur internet le 25 mars 2019).

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# Analysis of the Causes of Human Trafficking In East Nusa Tenggara Province

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## Abstract

The aims of this study are to determine the main factors causing the occurrence of human trafficking in NTT and to build a model of the causes of human trafficking. This research is a survey research with the population is a victim of human trafficking in the East Nusa Tenggara Province. The sample was 49 victims of human trafficking from Timor Tengah Selatan (TTS) and Belu districts who were selected by purposive sampling. The instrument used was a questionnaire using an ordinal measurement scale (Likert scale) which contained 37 questions as well as research variables (attributes). Data were analyzed using factor analysis. The results of the study showed that of the 37 variables, 7 factors are formed. There are economic and cultural factors, employment and income opportunities, early-age marriage, education, poverty, limited access to information, and quick rich desires. Economic and cultural factors are the main causes of human trafficking in NTT Province. The equation model produced for each factor are  $F_1 = X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_9 + 0.696X_{13} + 0.714X_{14} + 0.505X_{25}$ ;  $F_2 = 0.783X_{18} + 0.618X_{19} + 0.555X_{20} + 0.633X_{22} + 0.603X_{23} + 0.625X_{24} + 0.598X_{26}$ ;  $F_3 = 0.607X_{12} + 0.700X_{27} + 0.848X_{28} + 0.798X_{29} + 0.595X_{30} + 0.629X_{32}$ ;  $F_4 = 0.524X_{11} + 0.743X_{15} + 0.866X_{16} + 0.567X_{17}$ ;  $F_5 = 0.658X_6 + 0.833X_7 + 0.750X_{10}$ ;  $F_6 = 0.850X_1 + 0.826X_2 + 0.706X_{21}$  dan  $F_7 = 0.793X_8$ .

**Keywords:** Human Trafficking, Nusa Tenggara Timur

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The human trafficking phenomenon never stops. Lately, human trafficking has flourished with various modus operandi. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that 20.9 million people work as slaves and 1.2 million children are sold every year. Indonesia is one of the main sources of trafficking.

East Nusa Tenggara Province is one of the provinces located in the eastern part of Indonesia. This province is known as the kitchen of human trafficking. Based on data from the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency in NTT Province, the number of human trafficking cases is almost evenly distributed in 22 districts. The NTT Regional Police affirmed that out of 2,279 victims of human trafficking that departed from 2015 to 31 July 2016, there were 451 people identified as being related to handling human trafficking cases by the NTT Regional Police [1]. From these cases, there are various forms of violence such as physical, psychological, sexual violence, neglect, exploitation, and others.

The low level of education and the need for money are factors that cause victims to be recruited, sold, moved and resold. Human trafficking raises various crimes such as fraud, violence, and exploitation, and deprived of human rights. These crimes cause suffering and prolonged trauma.

This problem raises a sense of concern and discomfort from various parties. The NTT Provincial Government feels disturbed when there is a new title for NTT, namely NTT emergency trafficking. This is because the problem of human trafficking is referred to as a legal and humanitarian problem. Therefore, this problem is often handled by a legal approach [2]

Human Trafficking is defined as the recruitment, transportation, transfer or reception of people using threats or the use of violence and other forms of coercion, kidnapping, fraud, vulnerable positions by giving or receiving payments to reach agreement from people who have control over others for the purpose of exploitation. The same thing is confirmed by [3]. Human trafficking is a developing criminal activity that involves the movement of victims with violence or coercion for sexual exploitation or labor. Another opinion said that human trafficking is often facilitated without being realized by the tourism business [4].

Human trafficking, forced labor, and slavery have become important issues in the current era. However, the efforts to reject and prevent this problem received strong criticism [5]. Many cases that occur originated from fraud committed by family, friends or neighbors who actually must be able to protect. The global crisis of human trafficking involves the exploitation of people for personal gain and affects millions of people [6]. The human trafficking network is a network that is difficult to decide because it involves groups or individuals who are difficult to touch by law. Human trafficking, including the trade in sex and labor, is a global problem affecting 20.9 million people worldwide. The National Human Trafficking Hotline identified 36,270 cases of human trafficking in the United States since 2007 [7].

Throughout history, cases of human trafficking have been very difficult to identify and resolve. This case involves an experienced syndicate so that it is difficult to trace in ordinary ways. Therefore to handle this case must begin with finding the root of the problem.

The following cultural factors contribute to the occurrence of human trafficking, namely the role of women in the family, the role of children in the family, early marriage, and the history of employment due to debt [8]. Human trafficking in NTT Province has become a significant social problem. This case has caused public unrest in general and prolonged trauma for victims. More than that, this case has resulted in ever-increasing casualties.

As far as the researcher observes, there have been no studies related to the causes of human trafficking in NTT. The handling of human trafficking cases has not been carried out optimally because it does not yet know the root of the problem. Therefore this study aims to determine the factors that cause human trafficking. This effort is carried out to overcome the problem of human trafficking and intervene according to the goals and objectives.

Allegedly the base causes of human trafficking are economic transition and poverty. In addition, it was made worse by the lack of implementation of national and regional policies in overcoming this problem. Various efforts have been made by the government, but have not yet achieved optimal results. In fact, the data notes that the higher the number of human trafficking cases in NTT. The high number of cases of human trafficking has caused deep unrest for the people of NTT especially the rural communities. They feel uncomfortable and anxious about finding jobs that can bring money. Life anxiety for those who are forced to allow family members to find work outside the village/village can make them not optimal at work.

In addition, the handling of human trafficking cases that are complicated and incomplete has its own impact on society. The people of NTT as a community bordering on Timor Leste lost their trust in the government about their right to life. People feel that they are not protected by the government.

Based on the explanation of the background problem above, the research question are (1) What are the main factors causing the occurrence of human trafficking in NTT and (2) how is the model of the causes of human trafficking?

## 2. METHOD

This research is a survey research. The population of this study is a victim of human trafficking in East Nusa Tenggara Province. The sample of the study was the victims of 49 people who were selected by purposive sampling. 49 people came from two districts in NTT, and there are Timor Tengah Selatan (TTS) and Belu.

The instrument used was a questionnaire using an ordinal measurement scale (Likert scale). The questionnaire contains 37 questions which are also research variables (attributes). The 37 questions outlined in 12 aspects of the causes of human trafficking, namely poverty, lack of awareness / understanding, rich desire, culture, lack of education, lack of employment opportunities, lack of access to information about employment risks, economics, early marriage, migration, law and law, and law enforcement. Each question is rated 1 to 5, each of which strongly disagrees, disagrees, simply agrees, agrees and strongly agrees. Data were analyzed using the Factor Analysis method, which is one of the multivariate statistical methods that explain the relationship between variables that are mutually independent of one another. Based on this method one or more sets of variables are obtained that are less than the initial variable called Factor [9].

The instrument of this study is a questionnaire using an ordinal measurement scale containing 37 questions as well as research variables (attributes). Each question is rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Instruments are prepared based on 12 aspects of human trafficking, namely poverty, lack of awareness/understanding, rich desire, culture, lack of education, lack of employment opportunities, lack of access to information about employment risks, economics, early marriage, migration, law and rule, and enforcement. Law. Data were analyzed using factor analysis.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Communal value is the proportion of the initial variable variance that can be explained by existing factors. The greater the value of communality indicates the greater relationship between variables and factors. Based on the value of Measure Sampling Adequacy (MSA) of 37 variables, there are only 31 variables that are feasible to be analyzed using factor analysis. Table 1 describes communal values for 37 variables.

Table 1. Communal Values

Variable	Initial	Extraction	Variable	Initial	Extraction
X1	1.000	0.842	X17	1.000	0.763
X2	1.000	0.837	X18	1.000	0.698
X3	1.000	0.669	X19	1.000	0.764
X4	1.000	0.673	X20	1.000	0.692
X5	1.000	0.691	X21	1.000	0.688
X6	1.000	0.810	X22	1.000	0.833
<b>X7</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>0.897</b>	X23	1.000	0.820
X8	1.000	0.763	X24	1.000	0.845
X9	1.000	0.695	X25	1.000	0.735
X10	1.000	0.767	X26	1.000	0.804
X11	1.000	0.656	<b>X27</b>	<b>1.000</b>	<b>0.620</b>
X12	1.000	0.778	X28	1.000	0.839
X13	1.000	0.727	X29	1.000	0.842
X14	1.000	0.692	X30	1.000	0.676
X15	1.000	0.768	X32	1.000	0.635
X16	1.000	0.893			

The values in Table 1 show the ability of the factors formed in explaining the variance of the origin variable. The biggest value is owned by the X7 variable which is equal to 0.897. This means that 89.7% of the variance of variable X7 can be explained by the factors formed. While the smallest value is owned by the variable X27 which is equal to 0.620. The greater the communal value of a variable indicates the more closely related to the factors formed.

Factoring is a core process in factor analysis. Extracting existing variables to form one or more factors that contain a number of variables. In this study, the extraction process is to estimate the weight of the factor using Principal Component Analysis. In the main component method, the criteria for determining the number of factors that can be formed can be seen from variables that have eigenvalues  $\lambda_i \geq 1$ . There are 31 variables included in factor analysis. Based on Table 2, it is known that the first factor has an eigenvalue of 11.602 with a variance of 37.425%. The second-factor eigenvalues 2.939 with a variance of 9.482%, the 3rd-factor eigenvalues 2,570 with variance 8,289% and so on until the 31st factor with eigenvalue 0.02 and variance 0.063%.

Table 2 Result of Extracting

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	11.602	37.425	37.425	11.602	37.425	37.425	4.115	13.275	13.275
2	2.939	9.482	46.907	2.939	9.482	46.907	3.998	12.896	26.171
3	2.570	8.289	55.196	2.570	8.289	55.196	3.965	12.790	38.961
4	2.171	7.004	62.200	2.171	7.004	62.200	3.154	10.174	49.135
5	1.501	4.840	67.040	1.501	4.840	67.040	3.090	9.969	59.105
6	1.411	4.551	71.592	1.411	4.551	71.592	3.027	9.764	68.869
7	1.217	3.927	75.519	1.217	3.927	75.519	2.061	6.650	75.519
8	0.947	3.055	78.574						
9	0.827	2.669	81.243						
10	0.786	2.536	83.779						
11	0.745	2.403	86.182						
12	0.607	1.957	88.139						
13	0.571	1.842	89.982						
14	0.453	1.460	91.441						
15	0.383	1.237	92.678						
16	0.356	1.147	93.825						
17	0.311	1.003	94.829						
18	0.268	0.865	95.693						
19	0.262	0.847	96.540						
20	0.201	0.648	97.188						
21	0.145	0.467	97.655						
22	0.139	0.447	98.102						
23	0.119	0.383	98.485						
24	0.110	0.355	98.840						
25	0.093	0.302	99.142						
26	0.073	0.235	99.377						
27	0.056	0.181	99.557						
28	0.046	0.148	99.705						
29	0.042	0.134	99.839						
30	0.030	0.098	99.937						
31	0.020	0.063	100.000						

Table 2 shows that there are seven factors that have eigenvalues greater than one and have a cumulative value of 75.519%. This result shows that there are only 7 factors that explain the 31 initial variables. This means that the seven factors can explain the total variability of 31 initial variables at 75,519% without reducing the initial information of all these variables. The remaining 24,481% is explained by other factors not examined. To facilitate the interpretation of factors, factor rotation will be carried out. Table 3 shows the weight of the factor after rotating or the correlation coefficient between the  $X_i$  variables with each factor.

Table 3. Factor loading (factor weight)

Variable	Komponent						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X1	0.200	-0.081	0.064	0.104	0.162	0.850	0.178
X2	0.168	0.161	0.099	-0.079	0.258	0.826	0.136
X3	0.674	0.077	0.116	0.126	0.211	0.358	0.083
X4	0.505	0.099	-0.238	0.458	0.218	0.294	0.090
X5	0.573	0.259	-0.103	-0.004	0.223	0.328	0.357
X6	0.372	-0.096	-0.064	0.275	0.658	0.240	0.302
X7	0.281	0.139	0.131	0.199	0.833	0.103	0.194
X8	0.214	-0.024	0.198	0.020	0.200	0.090	0.793
X9	0.612	0.194	0.196	-0.117	0.392	-0.019	0.277
X10	0.233	0.238	0.224	0.127	0.750	0.164	0.002
X11	0.410	0.049	0.202	0.524	0.358	0.127	0.159
X12	0.284	0.067	0.607	0.081	0.170	0.219	0.491
X13	0.696	-0.064	0.403	0.222	0.101	-0.094	0.086
X14	0.714	0.208	0.122	0.192	0.135	0.261	-0.008
X15	0.251	0.207	0.137	0.743	0.272	0.133	0.001
X16	0.176	0.321	0.038	0.866	0.029	0.048	-0.064
X17	-0.084	0.515	0.301	0.567	0.222	0.099	0.144
X18	0.094	0.783	0.133	0.155	0.065	0.154	0.072
X19	-0.025	0.618	0.163	0.209	0.372	0.415	0.026
X20	0.007	0.555	0.306	0.241	0.060	-0.029	0.477
X21	0.017	0.216	0.244	0.232	-0.064	0.706	-0.157
X22	0.215	0.633	0.030	0.232	-0.253	0.467	-0.224
X23	0.339	0.603	0.348	0.073	0.447	0.029	-0.116
X24	0.517	0.625	0.196	0.128	0.292	0.015	-0.217
X25	0.505	0.443	0.239	0.301	0.349	-0.045	-0.111
X26	0.452	0.598	0.110	0.283	0.001	-0.205	0.327
X27	0.123	0.024	0.700	-0.273	0.040	0.033	0.191
X28	0.056	0.197	0.848	0.099	0.155	0.173	0.118
X29	0.119	0.347	0.798	0.222	0.103	0.097	0.033
X30	-0.006	0.267	0.595	0.425	0.037	0.163	0.207
X32	0.204	0.061	0.629	0.189	0.072	-0.008	-0.390

Based on Table 3, it can be seen that 0.850 is the correlation coefficient value between the variables X1 and the sixth factor. This value is the highest value of the correlation coefficient between X1 and the existing factors. This shows that the X1 variable is included as a member of the 6th-factor component. For X2 variables, it can be seen that the highest correlation coefficient is in factor 6 which is 0.826. This value indicates that X2 is a member of the 6th factor. Analog with variables X1 and X2, for other variables that can be determined is part of which factor.

Factor 1 consists of variables X3, X4, X5, X9, X13, X14, and X25. This factor 1 is called economic and cultural factors. Because the value of the correlation (factor weight) of all positive variables means that the greater the responsibility of respondents to the family, the more it makes respondents interested in becoming migrant workers

in this case as victims of human trafficking. Women are considered easy to make money in the family. A big responsibility in supporting a family that needs money is the trigger for human trafficking.

Factor 2 consists of variables X18, X19, X20, X22, X23, X24, and X26. Factor 2 is called the factor of employment and income. Correlation values of all positive variables indicate that the more difficult respondents get decent jobs, the more making respondents interested in becoming migrant workers in this case as victims of human trafficking. An educational background that only completes elementary, middle or high school makes it difficult for them to get a decent job. This condition makes the victims accept any work offered that it is important to get money.

Factor 3 consists of variables X12, X27, X28, X29, X30, and X32. This factor 3 is called the factor of early marriage. Because the value of the correlation (factor weight) of all variables is positive, the younger the age of the respondent at marriage makes the respondent more interested in becoming a migrant worker in this case as a victim of human trafficking. In the family of girls, it is often a burden on the family economy so that one way to reduce the burden is to marry her off at an early age. Early marriage has the potential to cause a failure of marriage which leads to difficulties in supporting themselves and their children. This was revealed in an interview with Dahlia. *I married at the age of 14 years and have 4 children. I have been single parents since my youngest child was 3 years old. I decided to become a migrant worker because I wanted to give a good future for children. It turned out that I was cheated and not paid for working for 2 years. My children I entrusted to my family suffered.*

Factor 4 consists of variables X11, X15, X16, and X17. Factor 4 is called the factor of low education. The value of the correlation (factor weight) of all positive variables indicates that the lower the level of education of the respondent the more interested in becoming a migrant worker in this case as a victim of human trafficking. Most victims of human trafficking are those with elementary or junior high school education and some even drop out of school. The low level of education has resulted in the limitations of thinking so that it is easily influenced and deceived.

Factor 5 consists of variables X6, X7, and X10. This factor is called the poverty factor. All variables have positive correlation values. This condition shows that the more respondents have many needs, the more interested in becoming migrant workers in this case as victims of human trafficking. Poverty has forced many families to plan life support strategies. One strategy taken is to migrate to work whatever is important to get money. This was illustrated by YS in an interview that he chose to become a female laborer when the family's economic situation was very bad. She has seven children, while the husband does not have a job. She was arrested by Malaysian police while crossing from Nunukan and deported. Thus he said, *"I was forced to become a migrant worker, to free my children from poverty."*

Factor 6 consists of variables X1, X2, and X21. This factor 6 is called the factor Lack of access to information. The correlation value for all variables is positive. This shows that the less knowledge the respondent has about employment abroad, the greater the desire to become a migrant worker. Most people victims of human trafficking do not realize or know that there is a danger of trafficking. This means that they do not know of fraudulent ways to trap them in slavery-like jobs. The number of people who do not know the dangers of the work involved. They are only oriented to income or income received.

Factor 7 only consists of variable X8. Factor 4 is called the rich quick desire factor. All variables are positive, and the more respondents have many needs, the more interested in becoming migrant workers in this case as victims of human trafficking. The desire to have material and a higher standard of living triggers human trafficking. Life that is not feasible and squeezed by debt makes some people want to be rich.

This was revealed in an interview with MT which we quoted as follows: *"I and my sister-in-law are convinced that working in Malaysia is not difficult, the salary is large, and there is no need to bring clothes."* Women's human longing for a decent life made him not think long about the strength of the recruiters' false promises. A 13-year-old female victim told her that *"at that time I was promised a high salary abroad to make me run away from*

home. In Malaysia, I worked from 05.00 to 23.00 local time. When I was sick, I was transported and dumped on the beach. I worked for three years without being paid.

From the seven factors obtained, it can be seen that the first factor (economy and culture) is the main cause of human trafficking cases because these factors have eigenvalues and the largest percentage of variance is 11.602 and 37.425%.

The equation model produced for each factor is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 F_1 &= X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_9 + 0.696X_{13} + 0.714X_{14} + 0.505X_{25} \\
 F_2 &= 0.783X_{18} + 0.618X_{19} + 0.555X_{20} + 0.633X_{22} + 0.603X_{23} + 0.625X_{24} + 0.598X_{26} \\
 F_3 &= 0.607X_{12} + 0.700X_{27} + 0.848X_{28} + 0.798X_{29} + 0.595X_{30} + 0.629X_{32} \\
 F_4 &= 0.524X_{11} + 0.743X_{15} + 0.866X_{16} + 0.567X_{17} \\
 F_5 &= 0.658X_6 + 0.833X_7 + 0.750X_{10} \\
 F_6 &= 0.850X_1 + 0.826X_2 + 0.706X_{21} \\
 F_7 &= 0.793X_8
 \end{aligned}$$

The seven models produced will be more useful if used for further analysis by calculating the score of each factor based on the variables contained in each factor.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Referring to research results and discussions in the previous section, a conclusion is drawn as follows: (1) Factors that influence the occurrence of economic and cultural human trafficking, employment and income opportunities, early marriage, low education, poverty, lack of access to information, and the desire to get rich quick; (2) The dominant factor that causes human trafficking is Factor 1, namely economy and culture with a variance percentage of 37.425%; (3) The model for each factor are  $F_1 = X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_9 + 0.696X_{13} + 0.714X_{14} + 0.505X_{25}$ ,  $F_2 = 0.783X_{18} + 0.618X_{19} + 0.555X_{20} + 0.633X_{22} + 0.603X_{23} + 0.625X_{24} + 0.598X_{26}$ ,  $F_3 = 0.607X_{12} + 0.700X_{27} + 0.848X_{28} + 0.798X_{29} + 0.595X_{30} + 0.629X_{32}$ ,  $F_4 = 0.524X_{11} + 0.743X_{15} + 0.866X_{16} + 0.567X_{17}$ ,  $F_5 = 0.658X_6 + 0.833X_7 + 0.750X_{10}$ ,  $F_6 = 0.850X_1 + 0.826X_2 + 0.706X_{21}$ , and  $F_7 = 0.793X_8$ .

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# Homosexuality Legalization in Arab Countries: A Shifting Paradigm or a Wake-up Call

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## Abstract

The study reported how the Arab world perceived homosexuality criminalization and decriminalization in opposition or in alignment with approaches determined in the pre and post-colonial eras in different European and American countries. The focus of the article was to explore the foundations of both homosexuality and anti-homosexuality legislation along with the historical background of the homosexuality issue. The study employed a meta-analysis of studies on homosexuality criminalization and decriminalization starting with the colonial period through the modern era. The methodology employed scientific literature in the analysis to make the study representative and not a priori stigmatizing. The analysis revolved around close readings of precolonial and postcolonial documents. The study looked at the historical evidence indicating the impact of imperial history on homosexuality as based on the dataset of 185 countries. The findings of the study underscored that the question of criminalizing or decriminalizing homosexuality in Arab countries remains debatable due to conflicting views of modernity on one hand and religious and cultural constraints on the other hand.

**Keywords:** Diversity, Heterosexuality, Homosexuality, Homophobia, LGBT, Legislations

## 1. Introduction

Homosexuality is the sexual attraction to one's own sex which people refer to as "gay" or "lesbian." For many years, homosexuality has been present in all different cultures. Each culture deals with this problem in a different way; some ban homosexuality and imprison Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) advocates. Nowadays, more cultures have accepted LGBT and even legalized gay marriage; for example, in United States of America(USA), it is legal to be homosexual whereas it is illegal to be a gay in almost 80 different countries. "In January 2018, the Indian Supreme Court ordered a review of section 377 of the Indian penal code (IPC). ...In fact, this law was imposed during the British Raj over 150 years ago and has remained unchanged since. If we look at Singapore, or Malaysia, or Brunei, each country has a law, numbered section 377, or 377A, criminalizing homosexual conduct to some degree. ..These laws were also imposed during British imperial rule and have

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survived to the present” ( Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.8). Also, in Europe, there have been many discussions about homosexuals' rights and how the governments shouldn't interfere into people's private lives. Anti-homophobic laws have been issued which clearly reflects Europe's commitment to end homophobia and preserve sexual freedom and free speech. Homophobia is a social problem. “Various predispositions—religious, cultural, and postcolonial—influence the socio-political and religious disputes on homosexuality in sub-Saharan Africa. African religious and political opposition to same-sex intimate relations is driven by the desire to protect an "African identity" and the youth from an assumed Western "assault" of the global sexual rights movement. Growing democratic and human rights cultures reinforce the religious-cultural and political contestation of homosexuality as un-African and un-Christian *vis-à-vis* a human rights issue”( Kaoma,2018, p.4). However, more than 2.7 billion people are still living under governments that condemn homosexuality with imprisonment and lashes(Rossi & Lopez,2017). Homosexuality is still punishable by death in countries of the south, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Sudan, Mauritania, and Nigeria (ILGA, 2014). As such, Arab countries should start discussing homosexuality and the rights of LGBT.

Normalizing homosexuality would be a problem that has been challenging societal and religious values in Arab countries due to culture and religion concerns. Homosexuals transfer HIV, yet HIV preventions and vaccinations are being increasingly used by normal people. Cases of violence are perpetrated against LGBT people especially in religious areas. Criminalizing homosexuality for the wellbeing of family, society structures and fabrics in the Arab world remains a necessity. The gay rights debate could be recast as a conflict among different held beliefs, mentalities, and traditions. Ordinary people are caught between two conflicting instincts. On the one hand, there is a common-sense perception that heterosexuality is the fundamental norm for humanity even if only it forms the backbone for the survival of humans and a natural distaste for homosexual practices. On the other hand, there is a desire to be open to diversity and to be non-judgmental.

Why is the issue of homosexuality still controversial? Why isn't a taboo to discuss homosexuals' rights anymore the way it used to be? The issue of homosexuality is an open and ongoing debate that has been going on since the beginning of time. It is a part of the much deeper controversy over the meaning and purpose of human sexuality and especially in the Arab world. Specifically, this study addressed the following questions:

1. Should homosexuality be legalized in the Arab world?
2. What threats might be repercussions of legalizing or not legalizing homosexuality in the Arab world?

My approach is not to criticize homosexuality for its toxicity but to explore how homosexuality has been recently perceived in some Arab countries, and how it was perceived throughout history. In pursuing this question, my analysis revolved around close readings of pre-colonial and postcolonial documents. For example, ‘sexual abnormalities had to be contained and punished, often by violent death” (Cameron, 2018, p.3).

Homosexuals have asserted their homosexuality with the word “pride,” and the LGBTQ+ movement was formed. Gay marriage is now legitimized in many western countries. However, homosexuals in the Middle East are still intimidated; for example, Yusuf Rizk, one of Egypt's youngest Gay leaders, who points out that “...most of the gay people in Egypt are even not out to their families – they are living in fear not living their lives” (as cited in Wirtschafter, 2016). On the other hand, there are others who are encouraged to come out and reveal themselves; for instance, in Lebanon, as it was stated in The New York Times article entitled “Coming out in Lebanon”, the reason behind the gay activism is the “culturally diverse society” (Boushnak & Boshnaq, 2017). This is a very interesting description of the Lebanese society which reflects a degree of westernization that has created the diverse cultures in Lebanese society. By westernization, we mean the extent of having the western culture entrenched in society (Thong, 2012), and this would be the sole incentive to adhere to Western ideals.

The incentive for homosexuality to be normalized is the nature of the ideology implemented. Capitalism acknowledges freedom of choice, speech, expression, etc. Westerners, in general, don't mind homosexuality because it doesn't intervene with their ideology, i.e., it's still within the framework of the capitalist ideology. Khazan (2016) reported that between 2 and 11 percent of adults have homosexual feelings. In other words, a tolerant society somehow encourages homosexuality to flourish. Conversely, moving on to homosexuality in the

Middle East, we know that most of the Arabs are Muslims, and the states are partially governed by the Capitalist ideology. Adamczyk (2016) argues that the religious context has a powerful influence on people and asserts the power of religion to Muslims who heavily correlate religion with the negative attitudes to homosexuality. Since %78 of Muslims regard their religion as important, it's self-evident to say that homosexual acts are not permitted, for homosexuality is against the public tradition which sets the principles for the acceptance of a certain notion.

It's quite paradoxical to know that laws regarded homosexuality as unnatural, yet they later considered it normal. Bolstering a similar claim, using Stephen Macedo's (2015) *Just Married* book, we find out that in 1988, 88% of Americans were against homosexuality legislation; in 2011, it fell to %45, which's not that low. This historical fact proves how faulty and not impeccable the human mind is, bearing in mind that democracy which is the ruling system of capitalism, gives the right to humans to unleash their sexual freedom. Human laws are faulty, and they emanate from the limited minds of humans, which would cast societies into the abyss. Most probably, sometime in the future, some countries would normalize marrying animals based on the premise of freedom.

Some defend homosexuality as more frequent nowadays, which means that in the Arab world, there are many homosexuals, but they haven't come out yet because of the strict legislation. Homophobia became a social problem, which is unhealthy for a society; as such, some believe that homophobia shall be restrained before some conflicts happen by engaging the citizens in activism; "Arab Spring movements ... more conducive to protest, such as anger, feelings of injustice, and pride" (Azab & Santoro, 2017). In accordance with the French slogan "liberté, égalité, fraternité" which means liberty, equality, and fraternity, humans have the right to do whatever they want, so being homosexual is a human right and preventing it is not human. Equal rights are equal rights. When people live in a civilized society, they do not discriminate against others based on their religion, sex or sexual orientation. Both gay and heterosexual couples deserve to be whoever they want to be; they deserve freedom just like everybody does. No matter what they are, they will have the same rights for everything; marriage, ownership, inheritance, and adoption. If people deny these rights for homosexual people, they will go under homophobia. Even though there are no conclusive studies showing that people were born with "gay gene," some recent studies have found that there are significant differences between the physiology of a straight male and a gay male. Researchers believe that being gay is not entirely environmental, but it is also a genetic component. If a gay person could choose to be straight, why wouldn't a straight person be able to choose to be gay? Cultural diversity makes people more open-minded to accept others irrespective of their sexuality, origin, and religion which will lead to fewer conflicts. Furthermore, in Lebanon, there have been cries for freedom of thought and expression; for example, the singer Hamed Sinno from the band "Mashrou Leila" has employed music, lyrics, and videos to address issues that are largely a taboo in Arab mainstream culture including sexuality, homosexuality, and politics.

Conversely, most Arab societies are patriarchal, which means the mentality is based on old traditions and religious thoughts asserting that family structures also reinforce male roles, so participation in family gatherings and religious observances is tied to masculinity (Herzog & Yahia-Younes, 2007). As such, it will be hard for society to accept homosexuals because they are not used to them being part of their society (Benstead, 2016). Homosexuals in the Arab world might find it hard to come out and to disclose their sexual drives to their parents because they feel that everyone is against them: Government, religion, and society are against homosexuals, which might cause some psychological problems such as isolation, anxiety, etc. Moreover, they might leave their country to have access to their gay rights and fit in another society. This means that homosexuality in the Arab world can also be a root cause of conflict. For example, the Lebanese band 'Mashrou Leila' was banned from doing a concert in Jordan because of homophobia. Homophobia is what Arab governments give to Islamists to keep them calm. Some governments are already aware of the fact that homosexuality in Arab countries is causing more problems, even political. However, some tend to avoid even discussing the feasibility of giving rights to the homosexuals based on the premise asserting that in Arab countries there are many political, poverty and economic issues. People won't focus on gays and their rights. "[W]e have a lot of problems here – torture, violations against street children, we are full of problems... To come in and talk about gays and lesbians, it is nice, but it's not the major issue" (Mohamed, 2015).

## 2. Literature Review

### Theoretical framework

Colonialism and Islamophobia have structured the opposition between LGBT and Muslim cultures( Rahman, 2018,p. 99). This article pursues a historical approach to contemporary homosexuality. The researcher suggests the need to study homosexuality as a phenomenon withdraws to the past as well as the present. The focus of the article was to explore the foundations of both homosexuality and anti-homosexuality legislation along with the historical background of the homosexuality issue. Through this approach, the study has drawn out how histories of homosexuality criminalization and decriminalization shaped legislation.

#### *2.1 Against the legalization of homosexuality*

The United Nations reported in 2015 medical practices to which LGBT are subjected, including so-called 'conversion' therapy, forced genital and anal examinations, forced and otherwise involuntary sterilization, and medically unnecessary surgery and treatment performed on intersex children (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Gay men who have sex with men (MSM) in low- and middle-income countries continue to bear a disproportionate burden of HIV infections compared to the general population, and research findings indicate a reemergence of the HIV epidemic among MSM in high-income countries (Arreola, Santos, Beck, Sundararaj, Wilson, Hebert & Ayala, 2015).

Death penalty for sexual intercourse between adults is only present in 4 different countries(Knight& Wilson,2016). Knight and Wilson (2016) added that homophobia is existent in Eastern Europe, and it had a negative outcome as a rise in HIV transmission percentage due to the lack of sex education was noticeably significant.

Funds targeting HIV prevention barely go to homosexual couples which explains the homophobic atmosphere that fears and discourages any potential increase in HIV infection percentages. Arreola (2015) added that homosexual men that have sexual intercourse with their partners present a higher rate of HIV infections within the medium and low classes in society when compared to heterosexual males along with a re-integration of HIV infections within the high-class society homosexual men. George (2017) also declared that people's will to protect homosexuals against social assault had faded drastically with homosexual rights issues being defeated.

A well-known Archbishop, who was hosted at Mega TV's show, further declared that homosexuality is a sinful act and unnatural and that one ought to struggle to overcome it. "I would tell them that humans ought to learn how to struggle," the Archbishop said. He added that just as people who decide to become monks turn against their nature and they succeed, it could be the same for homosexuals. "A person that intends on becoming a monk is out to fight against his own nature. To go against one's nature is very difficult, it is easier to overcome what's unnatural" (Andreou, 2018).

#### *2.2 Homosexuality as a crime*

Sex between two consenting adults of the same sex is considered a crime in 75 countries, which forms 39 % of UN members. However, sex between two consenting adults of the same-sex has been decriminalized in 118 countries or about 61 % of UN membership. The death penalty for sex between two consenting adults exists in five countries; Iran, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Yemen. Furthermore, three countries have never criminalized same-sex sexual activity between adults in general (Carroll & Itaborahy, 2015).

Crimes are being committed against LGBT who have been subjugated to deep knife cuts, anal rape and genital mutilation, stoning, and dismemberment. The hate-motivated killing of LGBT people has been recorded in all regions by the UN (Knight & Wilson, 2016). Eastern Europe's homophobia might be accompanied with an increase in HIV transmission due to the inadequacy of sex education and lack of services that should be ensured to stop the spread (Bridge, Lazarus, & Atun, 2010). However, less than 2 % of global HIV prevention funding is targeted toward MSM, and HIV prevention services only reach 10 % of MSM worldwide. Reduced access to HIV

services may be exacerbated by sexual stigma and criminalization of homophobia and may ultimately contribute to the high prevalence and incidence of HIV among MSM” (Arreola, Santos, Beck, Sundararaj, Wilson, Hebert & Ayala, 2015);

A judge rules against a student who said homosexuality is a sin (2017, Oct 29). Portrayals of normative or non-normative desire are more often found in literature, with physical acts of intimacy reserved for foreign media (Mourad, 2013). Although the Lebanese media landscape is among the freest in the region (Freedom House, 2015), homosexuality is commonly presented as comic relief or social threat to heterosexual men, broader society, and the entire nation (Jaber, 2016,p.1). On the same panel, drama displays the story of a real homosexual, instead of an anonymous person with a blurry face (Jaber, 2016, p.7). Lebanese laws are still the same, and homosexual behavior could lead a same-sex couple to be arrested, just like in the case of Nasser and Zeidan in 2015 (Jaber,2016, p.10).

According to the results of a huge report published in 2015 by the Academy of Science of South Africa, homosexuality is not a choice, and sexual orientation is determined very early on. Biological gender is set in the first trimester of pregnancy, and psychological gender is set in the second trimester when the child is exposed to varying levels of testosterone. This report also stated that homosexuality is within the normal range of normal human sexuality; sexuality is very much like the genetic regions that determine the color of the hair or the height. Besides, the biological facts, no one would voluntarily choose to face the scrutiny and discrimination that come with not conforming to gender norms, and if being gay was causing this much trouble then by that logic they could ‘switch back’ to being straight. Access to marriage might be positively associated with psychological well-being in gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons (Wight, LeBlanc & Badgett, 2013). Moreover, more than 20 countries have established same-sex civil unions or registered partnerships, offering same-sex couples some or all rights of marriage (Itaborahy & Zhu, 2014; Vecho, Paul Poteat & Schneider, 2016).

### **2.3 Religion as main hindrance for homosexuality in the Arab world**

Homosexuality in the Arab World isn't still recognized and accepted. It challenges traditional, cultural, and religious beliefs (a reference to Quran and Bible documents). In other words, the Arab world believes that homosexuality goes against the nature of human beings. It runs counter to sacred writings. Many Christian denominations condemn homosexual acts as sinful and perceive homosexuality as morally unacceptable. The Catholic church views any sexual act not related to procreation by couple joined under the Sacrament of Matrimony as sinful. The Church states that "homosexual tendencies" are "objectively disordered" (Catholic Church,1951).

Two people from the same sex can't have children. Within recent years, passionate debates have been carried on within American Christian denominations over the issue of accepting homosexuals as members in good standing within congregations and accepting actively practicing gay men and women as clergy. There are seven texts cited by Christians to condemn homosexuality: Noah and Ham (Genesis 9:20–27), Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:1–11) (Gnuse, 2015).

There are also films such as *Dangerous Living: Coming Out in the Developing World* which asserts the key role religion plays as a moral structure in society. Arab and Muslim views homosexuality as a purely "Western" creation. The starting line of the dialogue spoken by a yet unseen gay Egyptian man stating, "I was accused of being westernized" (Pullen, 2012, p. 44) is indicative of Arabs' view of westernizing homosexuality.

### **2.4 Traditions as hindrances for homosexuality**

It is traditionally known and accepted that marriage is made between a man and a woman. Legalization of gay marriage denies marriage its key role. Children have always been of utmost importance to the government, at both state and federal levels (Cameron, Cameron & Proctor,2017). Thus, courts have always given special consideration to child welfare arguments in any legal context. In the battle over same-sex marriage, opponents have utilized the child welfare in justifying prohibitions against same-sex marriage. Gay marriage destroys the

traditional conception of a family's construction which shall encompass a mother, a father, and their biological kid. Gay marriage also weakens the power and undermines the significance of heterosexual families. Conversely, France decided to ban the words 'mother' and 'father' from all official documents under controversial plans to legalize gay marriage.

Children of homosexual parents face gender disorders. Some research suggests that children raised by lesbians or homosexual men are more likely to experience gender and sexual disorders (Stacey & Biblarz, 2017). Judith Stacey-- a sociologist and an advocate for same-sex civil marriage--reviewed the literature on child outcomes and found the following: Lesbian parenting may free daughters and sons from abroad but the uneven range of traditional gender prescriptions. She concludes her article based on studies that show that sons of lesbians are less masculine and that daughters of lesbians are more masculine. She also found that a "significantly greater proportion of young adult children raised by lesbian mothers are different from those raised by heterosexual mothers" (Stacey & Biblarz, 2017). Children of lesbians are more likely to report homoerotic attractions than those of straight couples. They face huge discrimination. Children in lesbian and gay families get bullied. The child is brought up by two men or two women and he goes to school with two men coming with him, one for his mom, and one for his dad, and- or two ladies, and they know that their children will be attacked. They get bullied, they get chased out, and they're harassed (Audience member, Vanessa, June 1998: "Gay moms and dads").

Seventy-nine records (51 gays, 28 lesbians) met inclusion criteria. Seventy-three subjects were diagnosed with one or more of the following defective mental conditions: depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, autism spectrum disorder, and bipolar disorder. Fifty-nine (74.7%) reported suicidal ideation, 55.7% exhibited self-harm, and 24 (30.4%) had one or more suicide attempts. Forty-six (58.2%) subjects reported school victimization (Cameron, Cameron & Proctor, 2017).

### ***2.5 Sex with parents***

Five (29%) of our 17 adults with a homosexual parent reported "physical, sexual relations" with a parent, compared to 0.6% (28 of 4,623) of those who did not claim to have a homosexual parent. Sullins (2015) found a number of adverse results for children of same-sex parents; perhaps the greatest surprise was that experiencing childhood sexual abuse from a parent was higher for children of married same-sex couples (38%) than for the other three groups (0–7%)” (p. 22)

### ***2.6 Homosexuality Criminalization and decriminalization in Pre and Post-colonial Eras***

“From 1860 onwards, the British Empire spread a specific set of legal codes and common law throughout its colonies including the prominent examples of the colonial criminal codes of India and Queensland, both of which specifically criminalized male-to-male sexual relations, though by long-term imprisonment rather than death” (Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.10). Although Sharia law is supposed to be God's law, there are wide variations in what it is supposed to entail. While only a few countries have state-level Sharia law, many others mix it with other systems; some at the state and some at the regional level. Turning, briefly, to sub-Saharan Africa, and an excellent report on the impact of the introduction of Sharia Law for Muslims in Nigeria in 1960 in various northern states, we discover, "In Islam, sexual intercourse is lawful only if it takes place between a man and a woman who are married validly according to law" (Ostien & Umaru 2007:44). “ At a time when many in the West have already been celebrating the legalization of same-sex marriage, ... the most recent report released by the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) shows that, although consensual homosexual conduct is legal in 124 states and territories, there are still 72 countries that continue the criminalization of homosexual relations”( Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.8)

“...in some countries, homosexual Introduction conduct can even lead to the death penalty. In September 2011, three men were executed for sodomy in Iran. These executions were all undertaken with reference to articles 108 and 110 of the Islamic penal code”( Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.9)”

“...several countries have successfully decriminalized consensual homosexual conduct ...The link between British colonialism and currently having anti-gay laws is strong. Of the 72 countries with such a law in 2018, at least 38 of them were once subject to some sort of British colonial rule”( Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.9).

“...in Latin America, where the Spanish were “shocked” by the homosexual behavior that they witnessed. ..the Spanish used the justifications of such "negative" portrayal of the "morally degraded...Homosexuality was also prevalent historically in Asia. ...in pre-modern China, homoerotic relationships between men, were often treated as an intellectual refinement seeking ... In the African context, ...all the early documentation of homosexuality in Africa was written by these European colonial actors, who overwhelmingly used moral rhetoric to describe homosexual acts as "unnatural" or "sinful”(Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.14).In opposition, in France, the law allows gay men and lesbian women to get legally get married. This law was put in 2014 and France became the 9<sup>th</sup> European country to allow same-sex marriage. “In contrast with the British experience, the other big colonial power – France – left a very different institutional legacy as regards consensual homosexual conduct”( Han & O'Mahoney, 2018, p.11).

Also, in the USA, sexual activity between consenting adults of the same sex as well as same-sex adolescents of a close age has been legal nationwide since 2003 pursuant to the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Lawrence v. Texas*. As of June 26, 2015, all states decriminalize and recognize marriage between same-sex couples because of the Supreme Court decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. Furthermore, unlike in the West, there is no generally accepted equivalent of the word ‘gay’ in Arabic, and there is no direct mention of such sexuality– certainly in Nigeria’s Sharia laws. According to Whittaker, “the term *al-mithliyya aljinsiyya*, literally ‘sexual same-ness’ has become used recently by serious newspapers and academic articles” (Whittaker 2011:16)

### ***2.7 Masculinity, homosexuality and homophobia***

Hamdi, Lachheb, and Anderson (2017) focused on homosexuality in Tunisia. Much like other Islamic countries, the law is based on the holy scripts. Since homosexuality is associated with femininity, many see that it goes against religion. Homosexual men are associated with ‘feminine’ attributes, which does not help their case, as this is also associated with weaknesses.

In Tunisia, the minister of human rights had announced that LGBT rights are in no way human rights. It is a mental illness that requires treatment. He does not agree with the United Nations and reaffirms his position by stating that Islam does not support this.

### ***2.8 Muslim gay men in Tunisia: Identity conflict***

Hamdi, Lachheb, and Anderson (2017) focused on the perspective of gay men on religion. It has become evident that same-sex relationships are illegal in Arab countries and are punishable by law. Most interpretations of Islam view homosexuality as unnatural. This causes these men to conceal their true identities for self-protection. This causes major identity issues and can be detrimental towards the mental health of the individual. So, one thing is correct; there is a mental illness; however, this is due to the extreme laws and homophobia imposed by traditions and the culture itself.

### ***2.9 A Phenomenological Study on Identifying Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals in Kuwait***

Scull and Mousa (2017) interview members of the LGBT community living in Kuwait. Kuwait is one of the several countries in the Middle East which condemns homosexual acts and implements severe punishments. Islam is a religion open to interpretation, and in this situation, interprets homosexuality as a sin. Although some prefer to engage in homosexual relationships, it is still not accepted. The interviews were conducted to relatively address specific topics, such as the role of religion or the role of culture. For instance, in light of Kuwaiti culture, individuals represent not only themselves, but their entire family. So, if individuals come out as homosexuals, they are shaming the family and the entire community.

Same-sex marriage laws in the USA have been challenged. First, the supreme court did not approve of same-sex marriage and gave independent states the choice to legalize it or not. Indicated that same-sex marriage laws in the USA had been challenged ( Gerstmann, 2017). First, the supreme court did not approve of same-sex marriage and

gave independent states the choice to legalize it or not. Same-sex marriage laws in the USA have been challenged. First, the supreme court did not approve of same-sex marriage and gave independent states the choice to legalize it or not. Throughout the years, states started legalizing it until 37 states were approving of it in 2015. The focus was on children because it is believed that they may be psychologically damaged by having parents from the same sex. Some of the arguments presented were that children could be criticized at school and face the stigma of having parents of the same sex. A religious argument about marriage being procreative was also presented. Yet, there was no evidence for those claims. Research asserts that 26 cases are at courts, 19 of them had mentioned parenting and children in same-sex marriage as an opposition.

### ***2.10 Homosexuality and healthcare***

The white house banned conversion therapy for youth under government healthcare (Brinton, 2018). This is due to research that shows that sexuality can change. Furthermore, the American psychological association has published studies that do not find results for conversion therapies changing sexual orientations. In addition, these conversions therapies can be harmful due to hormones usage. This may result in psychological damage that will raise costs on healthcare. Brinton(2018) indicated that there should not be any legislation in conversion therapies until more clear evidence is provided and more research is carried out.

### ***2.11 Cases of Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran***

While neither the Lebanese nor the Egyptian laws explicitly mention same-sex sexual relations among the list of prohibited sexual practices, the laws are written vaguely enough to allow for the inclusion of a wide variety of practices if needed. Article 534 of the Lebanese Penal Code prohibits 'Any sexual intercourse contrary to the order of nature.' Lebanese and Egyptian laws do not precisely condemn same-sex relations, but they vaguely state that any sexual relation that opposes the order of nature is prohibited.

In many developing countries, sexual rights are commonly depicted as trivial concerns pertaining to wealthy citizens of a 'developed' Western world. The 'developing' world is often thought to have more pressing problems to deal with, such as poverty, violence, and corruption. As the prominent Egyptian attorney and human rights activist, Negad El Borai, pointed out in a statement, it is 'nice' to talk about gay and lesbian rights in Egypt, but the matter is ranked low in a hierarchy of critical human rights issues. Indeed, it is sometimes not considered to be a human rights issue at all. In numerous third world nations, sexual rights are regularly presented as unimportant concerns that only affect affluent citizens of a 'developed Western world.' The third world countries are frequently shown to have more important challenges to face, like 'poverty, violence, and corruption.' Negad El Borai, a well-known Egyptian lawyer and human rights activist, has argued about this and stated that while it is 'nice' to discuss homosexual rights in Egypt, other issues are deemed more important in the 'hierarchy' of crucial human rights problems. In reality, it is not thought by some to be a human rights issue by any means. Discussing and fighting for homosexual rights in Egypt and other developing countries are a luxury such nations can't afford because they have more serious and fundamental human rights issues they haven't even dealt with. Sometimes, homosexual rights aren't even deemed as such.

However, this increasing public display of homosexuals is provoking a reaction from Lebanon's influential political and sectarian groups. While Sunni activists were undermining the gathering in Beirut, a Christian church in Tripoli was planning a meeting to talk about approaches to "fix" gay people and force them into a more ordinary sexual behavior, as indicated by news reports. Also, Lebanon's most influential leader, Hezbollah Secretary General Hasan Nasrallah, deemed it important to comment, blaming occidental nations for 'exporting' such behavior to Lebanon. "Homosexual relations defy logic, human nature and the human mind" states Hezbollah Secretary General. "When Nasrallah goes on TV and is forced to dedicate part of his speech to homosexuality ... I think it's a good thing," says a homosexual living in Beirut.

It would be significant to shed light on a provided transcript of the Iranian President's remarks at Colombia University when he was asked a question regarding the execution of homosexuals in Iran. His response denied that there are any homosexuals in Iran. He added that capital punishment is necessary for anyone that could cause

the deterioration of the lives of youth around the world. He used illicit drug traffickers as an example, and he basically implied that he views homosexuals and drug traffickers in the same category of criminals. 76 homosexuals have been arrested for "Debauchery" in Egypt. Again, Egypt has no laws covering the legal issues of same-sex relations, however, engaging in homosexual acts may land you a prison sentence under a criminal category that does not characterize homosexual acts (Ballman, Leheney, Miller, Simmons, & Wilson, 2016).

### **2.12 Religions against homosexuality**

Quranic verses indicate that homosexuality should be banned:

1- And [We had sent] Lot when he said to his people, "**Do you commit such immorality** as no one has preceded you with from among the worlds? (80) **Indeed, you approach men with desire, instead of women. Rather, you are a transgressing people.**"(81) [Al-Araf 80-81](#)

2- Do you approach males among the worlds (165). And leave what your Lord has created for you as mates? But you are a people transgressing."(166) Al-Shura 25

3. Punishment for Sodomy: Death

The punishment for sodomy can only be enforced if there are two witnesses. Usually, they are very hard to produce. By witness, most people agree that they must have seen the act with their own eyes including the penetration. This could be impossible to produce as some people argue.

### **3. Methodology**

The study employed a qualitative methodology design. Qualitative data were collected from the meta-analysis of the conducted studies. The analysis of descriptive quantitative and qualitative research was used to analyze the collected data qualitatively. The analyses and observations were employed to write up the findings needed to address the study questions. The study employed a meta-analysis of studies on homosexuality criminalization and decriminalization starting with colonial period through the modern era. The methodology employed scientific literature in the analysis to make the study representative and not a priori stigmatizing.

First, the study looked at the historical evidence of whether and how 185 colonies received their criminalization or decriminalization laws from the British Empire or French mandate. Then after sowing the impact of imperial history on the homosexuality issue, I discussed the homosexuality issues in certain Arab countries in the post-colonization and present periods. I found some clear-cut cases of direct imposition, and we also figured out that in some cases the present laws cannot be attributed to the British legacy. The evidence that I collected is based on the dataset of 185 countries. I employed systematic data analysis based on the influence of LGBT rights legislation. The framework of post-colonial studies along with its theoretical approach formed the theoretical framework of the present study (Mohanty 1994, Parashar 2011, Connell, 2018).

### **4. Results and Discussions**

Notable progress has been made concerning the acknowledgment of homosexuality in Lebanon. Ruling that it isn't a mental illness seems trivial, but such a step is significant in the Arab world. It remains to be said that we are a long way away from the acceptance of LGBTQ. Homosexuals are treated differently in different regions of the Arab world, and this seemed to be linked to how "open" such areas are to the western world. Even **Lebanon**, a relatively liberal country in the Arab world, can't fight off religious oppression and their views on homosexuality. However, it is true that developing countries in the Arab world have more urgent matters to discuss before homosexual rights. Homosexuality touches a minority, while the entire population must fight off problems such as poverty, violence, and gender equality. Nevertheless, violence against homosexuals must stop. One should examine many articles of law issued in different countries and states to be able to take sides. Also, while looking at the evidence with the legislation of homosexuality, we can find important organizations that support homosexuality and have evidence proving that homosexuality has a good impact on our society. To add, some laws have been put to control and prevent homosexuals from perpetrating bad homosexual acts, and therefore preventing everyone from doing such acts. However, medical records prove that being homosexual can cause diseases like Aids. It is argued that homosexuals commonly transfer HIV, yet HIV preventions and vaccinations

are being increasingly seen among normal people. Therefore, one cannot be strict with or against homosexuality. However, in certain contexts and certain issues related to homosexuality, one can defend his personal idea based on evidence.

A Lebanese judge challenged the legal basis of the arrest of men for same-sex conduct, declaring in a Metn court ruling last week that “homosexuals have a right to human and intimate relationships with whoever they want, without any interference or discrimination in terms of their sexual inclinations, as it is the case with other people” (Reid, 2017, p.1).

A Lebanese judge took on a different perspective about the legality of arresting same-sex conducts, by declaring a ruling that homosexuals, like straight people, are at liberty to enjoy same-sex relationships, without getting arrested or discriminated against by the court (Reid, 2017). The legality of homosexuality and same-sex relationships has been challenged by a Lebanese judge whereby claiming that homosexuals have the same right as straight people do without any discrimination (Reid, 2017).

In his ruling, Judge Maalouf referred to a penal code provision protecting freedom of expression, and Article 183 stipulates, “An act undertaken in exercise of a right without abuse shall not be regarded as an offense.” If no harm is done, there is no crime. Maalouf is not the first judge to question the interpretation of Article 534 (Reid, 2017, p.1).

Neither the Lebanese nor the Egyptian constitutions clearly indicate the prohibition of homosexual relations among the forbidden forms of sexual practices; the laws are ambiguous enough to permit the presence of various practices. However, article 534 of the Lebanese Penal Code clearly outlaws any unnatural sexual relations. However, two recent judicial rulings have intended to go in opposition for Article 534. In 2009, Lebanese judge Mounir Suleiman voiced his objection to the ambiguity of Article 534 during the trial of two men who had been suspected of engaging in same-sex sexual relations. Suleiman pointed out that not only does the definition of ‘nature’ change by the time ‘according to the mood of a society,’ but also humans are elements of nature, and their behavior should, therefore, not be considered contradictory to it. Two recent judicial rulings have aimed to erode article 534. Lebanese judge Mounir Suleiman challenged the article and opposed its vagueness; he considered its aim to be contradicting. Two judicial decisions have worked on undercutting article 534. In 2009, Lebanese judge Mounir Suleiman expressed his concern and opposition regarding the vagueness of the article during the judgment of two homosexual men. Suleiman stated that the meaning of ‘nature’ is bound to change over time depending on several societal factors and that people are part of this nature; thus, their attitudes should not be conflicting to it.

Portugal is now experiencing social and political environment of LGB acceptance as legislative changes are empowering LGB people to become more active agents in the fight against social discrimination and to stand up for their rights without fear or shame, thus contributing to the consolidation of a more just society in the country (Pereira & Monteiro 2017). Participants in the experiment consider the public display of affection as a way to express their freedom. Heterosexual participants in the experiment express that interacting with and becoming aware of the LGB community made them more active as peace mediators amongst other heterosexuals, raising awareness and preventing violence against homosexuals (Pereira & Monteiro 2017).

The USA supreme court declared in *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967 that marriage is one of the basic civil rights of human beings. They added that it is fundamental to everyone’s existence and survival. To deny it is surely to deprive all the State’s citizens of liberty without due process of law. Article 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees that men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion have the right to marry and to establish a family. Humans have the right to choose their partners regardless of their sexual orientation. An interpretation of sexual rights framed by an international group of women’s health advocates who were deeply engaged in the UN conferences held in the 1990s declared that sexual rights refer to the human rights of all persons with respect to the free and responsible expression of their sexuality and their control over their bodies. Human rights encompass the right to experience pleasurable sexuality.

Not all religions are against homosexuality. Homosexuality in Buddhist texts, contrary to other religions, is encouraged. Buddhism celebrates and encourages same-sex marriages. Jews are known as "the most liberal group of whites in America." They support laws protecting homosexuals from discrimination in housing, employment, and other aspects of public life. While Islamic scholars aren't afraid to express their extreme disapproval of homosexuals, deeming homosexuality as a sin, Quran only mentions homosexuals **once**, and it is done vaguely through the telling of the story of Lot and the Destruction of Sodom. This story featured two men who happened to be homosexuals but were also murderers and thieves which is why they were punished. While homosexuality in Islam was considered a no-no for the longest time, a small number of Islamic scholars have started re-examining Islamic teachings of same-sex relations and have concluded that the condemnation comes mainly from misinterpretation. However, evidence in the Quran about Islam's stance on homosexuality is far from clear which leads to the ongoing controversy.

Procreation is not the sole purpose of marriage. If the sole purpose of marriage was to procreate, then the ban on same-sex marriages should be extended to include hetero marriages that involve an infertile partner. Contraceptives should be removed altogether too!

## 5. Conclusions

After having read many articles about "Homosexuality," it is now clear that it is a debatable topic. That is, there is evidence proving and evidence refuting and rejecting why one should be with or against homosexuality. Like any other debatable issue, the legalization of homosexuality has its pros and cons, and one should be very critical to discuss the legalization of homosexuality. For instance, one should read many articles discussing different countries and states to be able to take sides. Also, while looking at the evidence endorsing the legislation of homosexuality, some international organizations support homosexuality and provide significant evidence proving that homosexuality has a good impact on societies. To add, some laws have been put to control everyone in the country and to prevent homosexuals from doing homosexual acts. However, medical records prove that being homosexual can cause diseases like Aids. Homosexuals transfer HIV, yet HIV preventions and vaccinations are being increasingly used by normal people. Therefore, one cannot be with or against homosexuality. Moussawi (2017) discusses the lives of gay men in Beirut. The cosmopolitan community of Beirut formed by middle to upper-class members seems to be more open to the tourists and middle to upper-class members of the society. However, Syrian and Palestinian refugees, working class people, and the transgendered people are not much accepted. According to the ethnographic study, there are many cases of violence perpetrated against LGBT people especially in religious areas, and even in non-friendly areas (gay clubs, gay bars...). There is a contrast among the societal members in Beirut; there are indications of change that is undergoing. Homosexuality in the Arab world isn't still recognized as acceptable.

"Queerness" is a western concept that has been imposed on the Arab World. Homosexuality is a "deviance" from the West to the Arab world and not its actual existence in the Arab world. The question of legalizing and normalizing homosexuality in Arab countries is still debatable and has a long way ahead. Homosexuality should not spread across the Arab countries because it would bring negative aspects and repercussions that arouse much tension. The 'developing' world is often thought to have more pressing problems to deal with, such as poverty, violence, and corruption.

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# Perceived Threat Had a Greater Impact Than Contact with Immigrants on Brexit Vote

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## Abstract

In the early 21st century, the United Kingdom (UK) witnessed a significant rise in net immigration, partly caused by freedom of movement within the European Union (EU). In response to political pressures, a referendum on EU membership was held in June 2016, resulting in a narrow majority for leaving the EU. This paper analyses the relative impact of contact and perceived threat on prejudice and voting behaviour in the referendum based on a sample of 1127 UK adults. While racial prejudice was a significant predictor of stated voting behaviour in the referendum, the relationship of voting with perceived threat was greater. Both factors were around five times more predictive of voting behaviour than contact. Both prejudice towards and perceived threat from EU immigrants was significantly more predictive than the same measures across all immigrants, suggesting that the impact of these variables on voting behaviour was more nuanced than a general negativity towards immigrants. There was no evidence that any positive effect of contact in reducing prejudice cumulates over multiple touchpoints.

**Keywords:** Intergroup Threat, Contact Theory, Prejudice, Brexit, Immigration, Voting Behaviour

## 1. Introduction

In the last 20 years, there has been a large increase in immigration into the United Kingdom (UK) (Office for National Statistics 2017), with net immigration over four million – about 30% of them from the European Union (EU). During the parliament of 2010 – 2015, the United Kingdom Independence Party, who campaigned for a referendum on whether to leave the EU, became the third most popular party in the UK. In this parliament, the Prime Minister promised that following the 2015 UK general election, there would be a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. In the referendum, held in June 2016, the UK voted to leave the EU. Although most immigration comes from outside the EU, the Leave campaign used EU immigration as a central plank of their strategy (Hall, 2016). Whilst there were many reasons for people's voting decisions, immediately after the announcement of the decision to leave the EU there was a 41% increase in crimes defined as being racially motivated (Forster, 2016), potentially suggesting that racial prejudice played a part (Khaleeli, 2016).

Whilst high levels of immigration can cause many varied effects, psychological theory highlights the potential for two opposing outcomes: improved racial attitudes from increased contact (Allport, 1954) and worsening racial attitudes arising from greater perceived intergroup threat (Cottrell and Neuberg, 2005). The objective of this study was to understand the extent to which contact with, and perceived threat from immigrants were factors in individuals' voting behaviour in the EU referendum.

Contact theory states that tensions between two groups can be reduced if people in one group have more contact with those in the other (Brown and Hewstone, 2005). Allport (1954) stated four conditions needed for contact to improve intergroup relations: equal status between groups, common goals, co-operation between groups, and external support for the contact. Whilst the theory was designed to apply to ingroups and outgroups in general, much of the early work focussed on race as the basis for group membership. In the present paper, the words race, racial and ethnic are used in their colloquial meaning (Kittles and Weiss, 2003), although even at the time of Allport's early work there was little support for a genetic definition of race (e.g. Montagu, 1941).

A focus of contact research was on the desegregation of schools. Bullock (1978) showed that whilst increased contact did improve intergroup relations, Allport's (1954) condition of equal status was important, and that the positive impact of contact was greater among whites (the majority group) than blacks (the minority group). Further evidence has been presented for (e.g. Wood and Sonleitner, 1996) and against (Schofield, 1979) the existence of long-term effects of contact.

Other work looked at contact effect within mixed neighbourhoods. Morris (1973) found that simply living in mixed racial areas didn't improve racial attitudes, but when there was actual contact by having both races visiting each other's houses, attitudes improved. This is similar to Pettigrew's (1967) distinction between desegregation of students, (e.g. busing black students to schools in predominantly white neighbourhoods) and integration, where students genuinely mix with a sense of equality. However, because integration requires a purposive decision to mix, there is an element of self-selection involved. Consequently, any correlation between contact and racial attitudes is potentially an effect of attitudes causing contact rather than contact changing attitudes.

More recent work has looked at a wider variety of ingroup / outgroup situations than simply racial, including sexual orientation (Heinze and Horn, 2009), disability (Slininger et al., 2000) and the elderly (Schwartz and Simmons, 2001). Another important change from the earlier work is that, particularly in the UK, minorities from a wider range of racial backgrounds have been included in the studies. A meta-analysis showed a very consistent positive contact effect size (average  $r = -.21$ ) in terms of intergroup contact reducing prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) and that contact effects were greatest when Allport's conditions were satisfied – but they still occurred when there was no evidence that any of them had been met.

Opinions are divided on the mechanisms that cause contact effect. McClendon (1974) suggests that the mechanism is linked to Sherif's (1975) theory of superordinate goals where individuals put aside differences to achieve a common goal. However, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found evidence for contact effect when there was no obvious superordinate goal. They proposed that the underlying mechanism for contact effects is linked to Zajonc's (1968) theory of mere exposure, where basic familiarity increases liking, reduces anxiety about the outgroup, increases empathy and (to a lesser extent) enhances knowledge. This mechanism of anxiety reduction is now commonly linked to the concept of intergroup threat theory.

Intergroup threat is an offshoot of the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 2010). Tajfel (1970) showed experimentally that even randomly dividing people into groups caused members of one group to discriminate against members of the other. This suggested that intergroup conflict and prejudice was not necessarily caused by existing predispositions among individuals in a group, but it could arise from group membership itself (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Intergroup threat theory (Stephan and Stephan, 2000) is specifically concerned with the perceived threat that one group feels from another, affecting their attitudes towards the outgroup. Riek et al. (2006) found a moderate relationship between five types of threat (realistic threats, symbolic threats, anxiety, negative stereotypes and group esteem) and outgroup attitudes. Later work by Stephan and Mealy (2011) concluded that intergroup threat could adequately be described on two dimensions: realistic threat such as taking people's jobs, burdening the welfare state etc. and symbolic threat which impact groups' system of meaning – such as religion and other culturally-based belief systems.

Shimoni and Schwarzwald (2003) showed that the type of threat varied depending on the different ingroups and outgroups and the circumstances of each group. Whilst Jews in Israel perceived the threat from Arabs as realistic, religious Jews perceived the threat from secular Jews as symbolic. Much recent work on intergroup threat shows realistic threat being significantly more important in driving prejudice than symbolic threat (e.g., Maher et al., 2017). In this line, Vasilopoulou (2016), using results of survey research, cites provision of education and health services, higher levels of crime among migrants and restriction of the right to work for immigrants as key factors affecting individuals' EU referendum voting intentions in the UK – consequently, the current study uses realistic threat as the measure of intergroup threat. This decision is also supported by recent work published after this study was conducted (van de Vyver et al., 2018) which showed a significant relationship between realistic threat, but not symbolic threat, and referendum voting behaviour.

Although there has been research on the role of contact in reducing both realistic and symbolic intergroup threat (e.g. Blascovich et al., 2001), there has been very little work on the relative impact of the two effects (contact and intergroup threat) on attitudes towards immigrants. Pettigrew and Hewstone (2017) discuss in detail the balance between contact and intergroup threats, but they only speculate on how this applied in the 2016 UK EU referendum. Whilst there were multiple reasons for individuals' voting behaviour in the referendum (with racial attitudes being just one possibility), by including stated voting behaviour as the dependent variable, this study provides quantitative values for the impact of each dimension.

Given the abovementioned arguments, we made the following hypotheses. H1: Contact effect is cumulative. Individuals having contact with other ethnic groups across multiple touchpoints are less negatively prejudiced towards these groups. H2: There is a positive relationship between levels of perceived threat from immigrants in the UK and racial prejudice. H3: The measured levels of perceived threat have a greater impact on racial prejudice than the measured levels of contact. H4: Racial prejudice is a statistically significant predictor of stated voting behaviour in the 2016 Brexit referendum. H5: The measured levels of perceived threat have a greater impact on stated voting behaviour in the 2016 EU referendum than the measured levels of contact.

## 2. Method

### 2.1 Participants

Participants in the study were UK citizens ( $n = 1127$ ) aged 18+ at the time of the 2016 UK EU referendum ( $M = 46.6$ ,  $SD = 14.1$ ). Table 1 summarises the sample demographics, with the UK data as a reference.

Table 1. Sample and population demographics

	Sample	Population
Sex		
Female	58.7% ( $n = 661$ )	50.68%
Male	41.2% ( $n = 464$ )	49.32%
Other	0.2% ( $n = 2$ )	-
Age group		
19-24	5.1% ( $n = 57$ )	8.5%
25-34	20% ( $n = 225$ )	17.8%
35-44	22.4% ( $n = 253$ )	16.6%
45-54	22% ( $n = 248$ )	18.4%
55-64	20.5% ( $n = 231$ )	15.1%

65-74	8.5% ( <i>n</i> = 96)	12.9%
+75	1.5% ( <i>n</i> = 17)	10.6%
Country of residence		
England	82.2% ( <i>n</i> = 926)	88.9%
Scotland	7.9% ( <i>n</i> = 89)	8.2%
Wales	7.4% ( <i>n</i> = 83)	4.7%
Northern Ireland	2.6% ( <i>n</i> = 29)	2.8%
Ethnicity		
White	89.9% ( <i>n</i> = 1013)	87.1%
Asian	5.8% ( <i>n</i> = 65)	12.9%
Afro-Caribbean	1.9% ( <i>n</i> =21)	
Non-UK EU	1.5% ( <i>n</i> =17)	
Other	1.0% ( <i>n</i> =11)	

*Notes:* (1) Sex, age and country populations in 2016 as per Office for National Statistics (2017); (2) Ethnicity as per Census 2011 (Office for National Statistics 2011); (3) Age group percentages in the population refer to adults; (4) The 19-24 years group in the population contains only 20-24 years old.

Three hundred and two participants (26.8%) claimed education at GCSE / O Levels / CSE, 27.9% (*n* = 314) claimed to have education at A level, 27.6% (*n* = 311) claimed a Bachelor's level degree, 11.2% (*n* = 126) said they had a postgraduate degree, 2.8% (*n* = 32) had a Doctorate, and 3.7% (*n* = 42) had other type of education.

Respondents were recruited via an invitation sent out on an access panel of individuals provided by Facts International, an independent sample provider – access panels contain a wide spread of individuals in terms of age, gender, region, education, etc., although not necessarily representative of the population under study. All respondents had previously agreed to take part in research interviews.

## 2.2 Procedure

After obtaining ethical approval from the University where this research was conducted, potential respondents were sent an email explaining that the study concerned social attitudes in the UK following Brexit. If they wished to take part, they were provided with a link for access to the online questionnaire, preceded by an information sheet and a consent form. Data were collected between 21 April and 1 May 2017.

## 2.3 Materials

An online questionnaire was developed addressing the five main elements in the research: demographics, prejudice, contact, intergroup threat and voting behaviour.

### 2.3.1 Demographics

Demographic questions included respondents' age group, sex, education level (from compulsory secondary to doctorate), citizenship status (British citizen / not British), and ethnicity (White UK, Asian, Afro-Caribbean, North/South American, other European).

### 2.3.2 Prejudice

We considered prejudice as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization” (Allport, 1954, p. 9), which “tend(s) to form ideological beliefs that justify discrimination” (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995, p. 58). Racial prejudice was measured using an adaptation of the Subtle Prejudice Scale by Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). This is a 10-item scale addressing traditional values (4 items; e.g. “Immigrants from the EU living here teach their children values and skills different to those required to be successful in the UK”), cultural differences (4 items; e.g., “How different do you think that immigrants from the EU are to the rest of the UK population in their religious beliefs and practices?”) and positive emotions “sympathy” and “admiration” (2 items), with 4-point Likert response format from strongly disagree to strongly agree, and reported alphas in the original study from .73 to .82. We modified the answer format to include a middle point (neither agree nor disagree) for traditional values, and to measure both existence and valence of perceived differences – different in a positive way (1), not really different (2), different but neither better nor worse (2), different in a negative way (4). Also, we excluded one of the items for traditional values (“[outgroup] should not push themselves where they are not wanted”) because we considered

it a blatant rather than a subtle item. To account for the differences in racial attitudes towards different ethnic groups (Hammersley and Woods, 1993; Pettigrew, 1997), the 9 items in the scale were repeated three times – in relation to persons with Asian origins, with Afro-Caribbean origins, and in relation to non-UK European immigrants. In addition, respondents were also asked a similar set of questions looking at social class to reduce the focus on race (these items were not scored or included in the analyses). The order of asking about each group was randomised for each participant.

A factor analysis using direct oblimin rotation was conducted to determine whether the 27 items could be considered as a single scale. A parallel analysis with 999 iterations revealed a solution with six factors, three of which were driven by a single outgroup. In contrast, further factor analyses revealed that, when the items addressing each of the three outgroups were considered as sub-scales, a single factor solution accounted for roughly a third of the total variance in each case (see Table 2). The KMO statistic was between .70 and .75 for each solution, which is adequate (Kaiser, 1974); and Bartlett's Test for sphericity was highly significant for each analysis. The sub-scales' Cronbach's alphas were acceptable between .71 and .75, and no alpha would increase if any item were removed. In consequence, multiple linear regression was utilised to create three separate prejudice scores for each participant – one for each of the racial groups–, and the three results were averaged to create an overall prejudice score. Thus calculated, overall scores ranged from 3.37 (most prejudiced) to -2.57 (least prejudiced) ( $M = -.06$ ,  $SD = 0.87$ ).

Table 2. Properties of the prejudice scale by racial group

	% variance in 1 <sup>st</sup> factor	KMO test	Bartlett's sphericity test	Cronbach's $\alpha$	Max. $\alpha$ if item deleted
Asian	29.0%	.751	.000	.752	.740
Afro-Caribbean	33.3%	.702	.000	.707	.695
Non-UK EU immigrants	32.8%	.746	.000	.742	.725

### 2.3.3 Contact

We measured contact across four touchpoints – current local neighbourhood, current or most recent work environment, school and online social media. We excluded contact with friends because the potential for self-selection was felt to be too great (e.g. Binder et al., 2009). The same self-selection argument could potentially be applied to social media, although to a lesser extent as social media contacts can be friends, followers or just contacts (Kietzmann et al., 2011).

For each of the touchpoints, participants indicated whether 'I am the only person of my racial group', 'I am one of just a few of my racial group', 'There are roughly equal numbers of people of different racial groups', 'Most of the people are of my racial group', or 'All of the people are of my racial group' (scores 1-5). In addition, where contact had taken place, respondents were asked whether this included contact with Asians, Afro-Caribbeans and/or non-UK Europeans. A total contact score was calculated by adding the score for each touchpoint.

### 2.3.4 Intergroup Threat

Realistic intergroup threat was measured using five items taken from scales developed by Stephan et al. (1998). Participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with "[outgroup] are taking jobs away from UK citizens", "are contributing to the increase in crime in the UK", "should not have immediate access to the National Health System", "are putting too big a burden on the school system", and "are contributing to an increase in drug usage". The items were rated in a 5-point Likert-type scale from "Strongly disagree" to "Strongly agree". As with contact, the four questions were asked repeatedly for Asians, Afro-Caribbeans and non-UK Europeans.

A factor analysis using a direct oblimin rotation revealed that the 12-item scale was one-dimensional – the first factor accounts for nearly 60% of the total variance and is spread consistently across all racial groups. Cronbach's alpha was high at .95. As a result, an overall threat variable was created from the responses across all racial groups

using a regression on the first factor. However, sub-scales associated with each racial group did also present good psychometric properties and were used in some analyses (see Table 3).

Table 3. Properties of the intergroup threat scale

	% variance in 1 <sup>st</sup> factor	KMO test	Bartlett's sphericity test	Cronbach's $\alpha$	Max. $\alpha$ if item deleted
Total perceived threat	58.9%	.916	.000	.950	.948
Asian threat	63.2%	.853	.000	.866	.858
Afro-Caribbean threat	62.3%	.822	.000	.847	.825
Non-UK EU threat	65.6%	.855	.000	.866	.861

### 2.3.5 Voting Behaviour

Respondents were asked how they voted in the EU referendum (not vote, Leave, Remain, rather not say). In addition, a second question was asked about the intensity of their conviction about the selected option (a little better, much stronger, extremely strongly). The result was a classification in six groups ranging with values from -3 (extremely strongly Remain) to +3 (extremely strongly Leave).

### 2.4 Pilot Study

The questionnaire was piloted between 10 and 13 April 2017. As the analysis suggested that the questionnaire was too long, a section of the study dealing with gender issues (not included in this report) was removed.

### 2.5 Analysis

Data analysis was conducted with SPSS v.21. The data consisted of continuous variables, ordinal variables and simple binary variables. Consequently, a range of analyses were used including Pearson product-moment correlations, simple and multiple linear regression for continuous variables and Spearman's rank correlations and binary logistic regression for ordinal and binary data.

## 3. Results

*H1: Contact effect is cumulative. Individuals having contact with other ethnic groups across multiple touchpoints are less negatively prejudiced towards these groups.*

As we measured racial prejudice towards Asian, Afro-Caribbean and non-UK EU individuals, this hypothesis was only tested on the white population – for non-white UK residents, contact with other racial groups would include white residents. Significant negative Spearman correlations were found between prejudice score and contact through social media ( $r = -.15, p < .001$ ), school ( $r = -.10, p = .002$ ), neighbourhood ( $r = -.07, p = .024$ ), and total contact score ( $r = -.12, p < .001$ ). Correlation through work failed to reach significance ( $r = -.05, p = .104$ ).

It can be argued that age may affect the correlations above, as, for example, younger individuals tend to use more social media than older ones – and young age has been found to be associated with lower racial prejudice. In the present study, there was indeed a positive correlation between age and prejudice ( $r = .14, p$  (1-tailed)  $< .001$ ). Therefore, a mediation analysis using regression was conducted to control for the effect of age on the correlation between dichotomous contact and prejudice. Results are shown in Table 4, with the  $r$  values approximately 80% of the initial value. The correlation with prejudice for the sum of contacts was the highest, although the difference compared to the correlation with social media was not significant;  $z = .40, p$  (1 tailed)  $= .343$ . This again does not support H1.

Table 4. Correlation of dichotomous contact and prejudice, controlling for age

	Direct effect $r$		Indirect effect $r$	
	value	Sign. (2-tailed)	value	Direct effect as proportion of total
School	-.11	.001	-.04	73%
Neighbourhood	-.05	.108	-.01	80%
Work	-.06	.055	-.01	89%

Social media	-14	< .001	-.03	80%
Sum of 4 contacts	-15	< .001	-.03	82%

*H2: There is a positive relationship between levels of perceived threat from immigrants in the UK and racial prejudice.*

To test this hypothesis, Spearman's correlation was calculated between threat score and prejudice score, with a highly significant result at  $r = .64, p < .001$ . As before, H2 was only tested on the white population.

*H3: The measured levels of perceived threat have a greater impact on racial prejudice than the measured levels of contact.*

A regression analysis was conducted with prejudice as the dependent variable and threat and dichotomous contact score as the independent variables. Both predictors are highly significant (standardised beta = .625 for threat and -.106 for contact, both  $p$  (2-tailed) < .001), but the effect of threat is significantly higher than the effect of contact ( $z = 13.13, p < .001$ ). The model has a total  $R$  value of .646.

Due to the significant correlations between age and prejudice ( $r = .14, p < .001$ ), and education and prejudice ( $r = -.19, p < .001$ ), both were included as potential mediating variables in the regression analysis, though only the latter reached a significant beta coefficient. The inclusion of education marginally increased the  $R$  value to .652, with all beta coefficients (.615 for threat, -.093 for contact, and -.088 for education) significant at  $p$  (2-tailed) < .001. The overall pattern of results is similar to the unmediated regression, with threat still significantly more predictive of prejudice than contact ( $z = 13.08, p < .001$ ).

*H4: Racial prejudice is a statistically significant predictor of stated voting behaviour in the 2016 Brexit referendum.*

About equal numbers of respondents indicated they had voted Remain (42.9%) and Leave (42.6%), with 11.5% who did not vote, and an additional 3% who refused to answer the question. The intensity of conviction about the selected option was similar for 'Leavers' and 'Remainers' – approximately half of each group felt extremely strongly that their decision was the right one, whilst the other half had some reservations; see Table 5.

Table 5. Intensity of conviction about the selected voting option

	Leave	Remain
There were reasons for voting either way, but in the end, I thought that [the option] was a little better	25.8%	20.9%
While there were arguments for both sides, I felt that [the option] had a much stronger case overall	22.9%	28.8%
I felt extremely strongly that [the option] was the right thing for the UK	51.3%	50.3%

To test H4, a binary logistic regression analysis was first conducted with dichotomous voting behaviour (Remain/Leave) as the dependent variable and prejudice as the predictor variable. The results revealed a highly significant relationship between prejudice and voting Leave;  $r$  (Wald) = .32,  $p$  (1-tailed) < .001, 66.4% correctly predicted. Due to the significant correlations between age and voting Leave ( $r = .12, p$  (1-tailed) < .001), and education and voting Leave ( $r = -.20, p$  (1-tailed) < .001), both were included as potential mediating variables in the regression analysis. Only education showed a significant effect. The result of the regression including education increased the correct prediction to 68%, but the change in  $r$  value, from .32 to .30, was not significant ( $z = .45, p = .657$ ). Thus, although the level of education does help to predict voting behaviour, it is not significantly changing the impact of racial prejudice.

The level of prejudice presents a clear monotonic pattern across the six groups formed by the combination of type of vote (Remain/Leave) and intensity of conviction (a little better, much stronger, extremely strongly); see Figure 1. An ANOVA revealed that differences are significant ( $F(5,957) = 41.70, p < .001$ ), and post-hoc Tukey's HSD tests showed a greater level of differentiation in terms of prejudice between the different intensities of voting Leave than of voting Remain (Table 6). In addition, the correlation between prejudice and intensity of voting Leave was significant ( $r = .42, p(1\text{-tailed}) < .001$ ) and higher than the correlation between prejudice and just voting Leave or Remain;  $z = 3.80, p = 0.001$ .

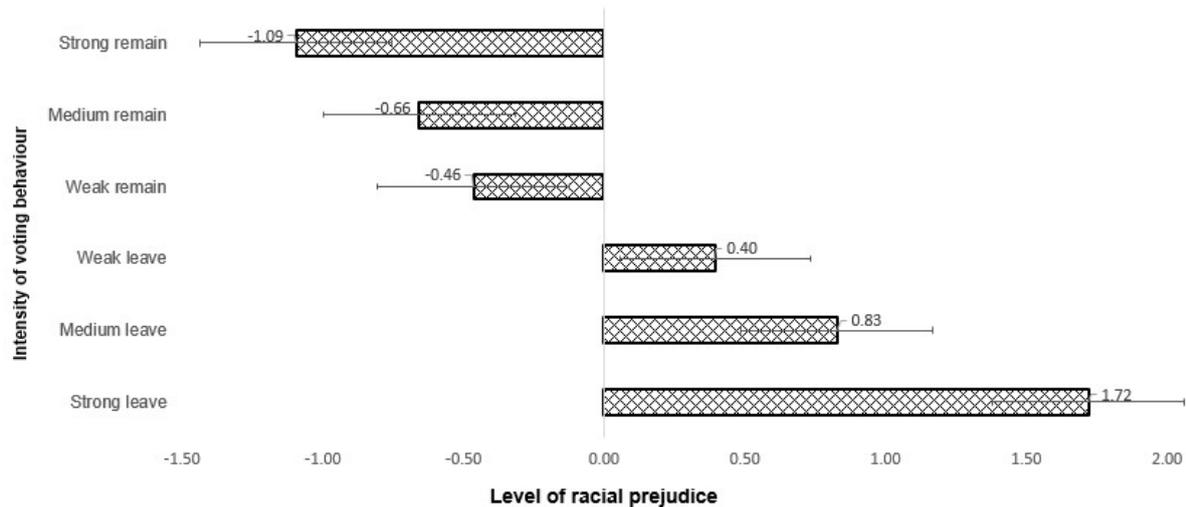


Figure 1. Prejudice by intensity of voting

Table 6. Post-hoc Tukey's HSD tests for differences in prejudice between voting groups

		Remain		Leave		
		Medium	Strong	Weak	Medium	Strong
Remain	Weak	$t_{(960)} = 0.63, p = .495$	$t_{(960)} = 2.25, p = .108$	$t_{(960)} = 2.70, p = .038$	$t_{(960)} = 3.95, p = .001$	$t_{(960)} = 7.80, p = .000$
	Medium		$t_{(960)} = 1.73, p = .254$	$t_{(960)} = 3.60, p = .002$	$t_{(960)} = 4.91, p = .000$	$t_{(960)} = 9.46, p = .000$
	Strong			$t_{(960)} = 5.70, p = .000$	$t_{(960)} = 7.06, p = .000$	$t_{(960)} = 13.14, p = .000$
Leave	Weak				$t_{(960)} = 3.26, p = .000$	$t_{(960)} = 5.08, p = .000$
	Medium					$t_{(960)} = 3.29, p = .007$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

The overall prejudice score utilised in the analyses above was the result of averaging the three separate prejudice scores – one for each racial group – obtained for each participant, as explained before. However, when looking at a decision to leave the EU, the most critical factor would likely be the prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants. To test this, additional binary logistic regression analyses were conducted with dichotomous voting behaviour (Remain/Leave) as the dependent variable and the prejudice score associated with each racial group as the predictor variable. Table 7 summarises the results. The  $r$  value found for prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants was significantly higher than towards Asians ( $z = 1.76, p = .039$ ) and Afro-Caribbeans ( $z = 3.75, p < .001$ ), but not than the total prejudice result ( $z = .66, p = .511$ ).

Table 7. Binary logistic regression of race-specific prejudice on dichotomous voting Leave behaviour

	% correctly predicted	<i>r</i> (Wald)	<i>p</i> value
Asian	63.9%	.28	< .001
Afro-Caribbean	61.7%	.23	< .001
Non-UK EU	66.7%	.33	< .001

*H5: The measured levels of perceived threat have a greater impact on stated voting behaviour in the 2016 EU referendum than the measured levels of contact.*

To test H5, a binary logistic regression was conducted with dichotomous voting behaviour as the dependent variable and total threat and total contact as the independent variables. The results were significant for threat ( $r$  (Wald) = .35,  $p$  (1-tailed) < .001), but not for contact ( $r$  (Wald) = -.03,  $p$  (1-tailed) = .071); 67.4% correctly predicted. Another regression analysis with intensity of voting as the dependent variable found significant effect of both total threat (standard beta = .46,  $p$  (2-tailed) < .001) and total contact (standard beta = -.09,  $p$  (2-tailed) = .002), with the former significantly more relevant than the latter ( $z$  = 8.56,  $p$  < .001); total  $R$  = .480.

Three additional regression analyses were conducted with dichotomous voting behaviour as the dependent variable; IV1 consisted of the scores in the race-specific threat subscales, and IV2 was the dichotomous total contact score associated with that racial group. The results are shown in table 8; the differences between the total and EU models is significant ( $z$  = 2.44,  $p$  = .027). For non-UK EU, the  $r$  value for perceived threat is significantly greater than for contact ( $z$  = 6.81,  $p$  < .001). Finally, the  $r$  value for the relationship of perceived threat and voting behaviour was significantly greater than the  $r$  value for the relationship of prejudice and voting behaviour. The test was conducted using an asymptotic  $z$ -test (Steigler, 1980) and software developed by Lee and Preacher (2013). The  $z$  value and probability are  $z$  = 3.050,  $p$  (2 tailed) = .002.

Table 8. Binary logistic regression of race-specific perceived threat and race-specific contact score on dichotomous voting Leave behaviour

	% correctly predicted	<i>r</i> (Wald) (threat)	<i>p</i> value (threat)	<i>r</i> (Wald) (contact)	<i>p</i> value (contact)
Total	67.4%	.35	< .001	-.03	.071
Asian	66.0%	.32	< .001	-.04	.195
Afro-Caribbean	65.8%	.31	< .001	-.00	.906
Non-UK EU	69.2%	.37	< .001	-.06	.019

#### 4. Discussion

##### *H1*

The first factor analysis provides evidence that in the UK, people have different prejudices towards the three groups (Asians, Afro-Caribbeans and non-UK EU nationals). This is consistent with the work of Hammersley and Woods (1993) and different to the findings of Pettigrew (1997) who concluded that Asians and Afro-Caribbeans could be grouped together. The latter analysis was conducted across Europe and it is possible that the historic mix of immigrants would lead to greater discrimination between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans in the UK.

The correlation results indicate that the first hypothesis is not supported as the effect of contact combined across all four touchpoints was smaller than the largest single effect (social media contact). Clearly this could reflect a genuine lack of accumulation. Other factors though could potentially have influenced the result. Social media contact is more susceptible to self-selection bias than school, work or neighbourhood contact. Also, in the line with the proposals on superordinate grouping (Gaertner et al., 1993), some of the more obvious identifiers of group differences (e.g. colour, accent, language etc.) are not necessarily present in social media – which could heighten the importance of the superordinate group membership such as Facebook friends, mothers on Mumsnet, etc.

The second highest relationship between contact and lower prejudice comes from school contact. This is the most long-term of the four contact effects and our result is consistent with the work of Wood and Sonleitner (1996) in showing that contact effects can be long lasting. However, with the significant recent increase in immigration, contact might increasingly be with first generation immigrants, which has been shown to have a less positive effect than contact with second generation at schools (Janmaat, 2014).

This study shows a statistically significant positive effect on racial prejudice from neighbourhood contact, although the correlation was quite low. This is different to the findings of Morris (1973) who could not establish a significant relationship between neighbourhood contact and prejudice at an overall level; only when he took mixed race *visiting* into account was the effect significant. It is possible that, for many people in the present study, contact was merely desegregation rather than integration – and we did not assess the extent to which any of Allport's four conditions for positive effects of contact (Allport, 1954) were met.

## H2

Unlike prejudice, perceived realistic threat forms a single factor across all three racial groups. Thus, whilst there are quite high correlations between the three individual racial prejudice measures (average  $r = .65$ ), this is significantly lower than the average correlation between the three individual racial threat measures (average  $r = .87$ ). This might indicate that whilst people hold different stereotypes of different racial groups, leading to varying levels of prejudice across them; perceived realistic threat is more homogeneous for all immigrants, regardless of ethnicity

The observed correlation between perceived realistic threat and prejudice ( $r = .64$ ) is higher than in previous literature and supports hypothesis 2. With the same variables, correlations of  $r = .31$  (Stephan and Stephan, 1996) and  $r = .46$  (Stephan et al., 1998) have been reported, and McLaren (2003) found  $r = .42$  between perceived realistic threat and desire for expulsion. Contrarily, Velasco González et al. (2008) found no significant relationship between perceived threat and prejudice among Muslims in the Netherlands.

## H3

In this study, perceived threat had about six times the impact of intergroup contact on racial prejudice, which provides support to H3. This is broadly consistent with the findings of Schlueter and Scheepers (2010) who calculated that perceived threat was about five times stronger than contact in predicting prejudice; however, they found a much stronger effect of contact reducing perception of threat. Fossett and Kiecolt (1989) also discussed the variation in outcomes resulting from different social contexts, implying that there is unlikely to be a simple ratio between the different impacts of threat and contact on prejudice. Also, they argued against a consistent percentage, because when the size of the outgroup starts to increase, the rise in perceived threat outweighs the decrease in prejudice associated with higher contact.

## H4

The data also confirmed that racial prejudice was a significant predictor of voting behaviour in the 2016 referendum. It is important to consider this result in a wider context. Using data from the European Values Study, Evans and Kelley (2017) showed that levels of prejudice in the UK towards people of other religions and immigrants in general are among the lowest in Europe, and very similar to those observed in Germany. This is important as there is little evidence to indicate that Germany would vote to leave the EU (Mansfield, 2016). The corollary of this would be that other factors pertaining to the role of the EU itself, e.g. social, economic, situational etc., are weaker in the UK and these were important drivers of the Leave majority. In fact, prejudice against EU immigrants specifically was more predictive of the Leave vote than general racial prejudice. The Leave results may reflect an increased desire for "Englishness" following the imposition of austerity measures after the major global financial crisis in the early part of the century (Virdee and McGeever, 2018).

Looking at the intensity with which individuals voted also highlights valuable findings. There is a strictly monotonic reduction in prejudice from committed Leavers at one end to committed Remainers at the other.

However, whilst the variation between the level of prejudice among the three Remainer groups is non-significant, there is a greater level of variance among the Leave groups, with a group of individuals who were totally committed to Brexit linked to very strong racial prejudice.

#### *H5*

The final hypothesis was also strongly supported. In the regression on actual voting behaviour, the ratio of the effect of perceived threat is about four and a half times greater than that for contact. The ratio for intensity of voting is about four to one. These numbers are similar to the ratio that is found when regressing prejudice against perceived threat and contact. Again, threat from non-UK EU immigrants produces a better model than that achieved from total threat, and also produces a statistically better model than using prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants.

A key difference though is that, although prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants is lower than towards the other groups, the perceived threat is significantly higher. As discussed earlier, this indicates clear discrimination in individuals' minds between their prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants, and their perceived realistic threat from the same group.

Wagner et al. (2006) argued that the impact of perceived threat is much stronger when threat is higher up the political agenda – and during campaigning for the referendum, the Leave group focussed heavily on the realistic threat posed by non-UK EU immigrants both to people's job security and to institutions such as schools and the National Health Service (Koch, 2017). However, whilst across the variables measured in this study, perceived realistic threat from non-UK EU immigrants is the greatest predictor of voting behaviour in the 2016 EU referendum, it should be noted that it accounts for just under 20% of the variance, so more than 80% of the decision to vote Leave comes from other sources. In this line, Abrams and Travaglino (2018) found that threat had an especially strong link to intentions to vote Leave when it was combined with a lack of trust in politicians – and it has been suggested that the referendum might have become a vote against the establishment, “a popular uprising against Britain's own ruling elites” (Kagarlitsky, 2017, p.112).

## **5. Conclusions**

Our results highlight the complexities involved with both intergroup threat and contact theories. As hypothesised, racial prejudice is a significant predictor of stated voting behaviour in the 2016 Brexit referendum, and perceived threat had a greater impact on that behaviour than contact. Similarly, the impact of perceived threat on racial prejudice is significantly greater than the impact of contact. However, contrary to our expectations, there was no evidence that any positive effect of contact in reducing prejudice cumulates over different touchpoints.

It is possible that the effects of contact on perceived threat and hence on voting behaviour were moderated by where voters looked to for guidance. This contact-cue interaction (Dyck and Pearson-Merkowitz, 2014) posits that the effect that contact has on behaviour is linked to cues derived from a trusted political elite. Although this couldn't be tested in this research, the data did show a significantly lower tendency for contact to reduce perceived threat among the committed Leave voters than among other groups.

Interestingly, prejudice towards non-UK EU immigrants was significantly lower than towards immigrants from other countries, but perceived realistic threat from this group was significantly higher. This suggests some individuals could perceive a threat from non-UK EU immigrants without it directly leading to prejudice.

The study was conducted almost a year after the referendum. It is possible therefore that the views expressed in the study reflect a *post-hoc* attempt by individuals to justify their voting behaviour. Asking the prejudice and threat questions before questions on voting behaviour should have reduced this effect (Kahneman, 2011), but it cannot be ruled out as a potential bias.

There would also be a benefit in conducting additional work to understand why, although perceived threat appears to be a homogeneous concept across all ethnic groups, racial prejudices are much more distinct between them. This could be a genuine effect, with people holding different stereotypes about different racial groups, but with all of them capable of threatening the indigenous population. Alternatively, it could be a function of the wording of the measuring instrument. The fact that there was less prejudice against non-UK EU immigrants but more perceived threat from them is also worth investigating in more detail. This might have been influenced by the language used in the Brexit campaign, so measuring the linkages between the two measures and whether this has changed in the intervening time period would be valuable in understanding the influences on public perceptions.

It is arguable that comparing threat and contact is a false comparison. Contact is an input, an element in people's lives that has potential to change attitudes. Perceived threat on the other hand is an output, the result of what individuals have read, seen, been told, etc. Consequently, threat is inherently more likely to link to other attitudes and even behaviours than contact. Nonetheless, the analysis indicates that simple contact is a fairly blunt instrument without taking valence into consideration. In their analysis of claimed voting intentions for the referendum, Meleady et al. (2017) looked at the impact of positive versus negative contact on the decision, and Barlow et al. (2012) found that negative contact had more power to increase prejudice than positive contact had to reduce it. It would therefore be valuable to extend this work to try and measure a more nuanced indicator of contact, allowing for social context including Allport's (1954) four conditions. This could enable the research to define the optimum conditions for achieving positive contact, and the extent to which this can be an antidote to the high impact of perceived threat on increasing prejudice.

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# Determinants of Human Capital Accumulation of Female Migrants in the Destination

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## Abstract

The purpose of this research was to examine human capital accumulation and factors determined human capital accumulation among female migrants, who moved from the rural northeastern region of Thailand, at destination areas. Using quantitative methodology in the study, and unit of analysis was at the individual level. The sample size was 320 female migrants who have been living in Chonburi for 1-10 years with inclusion criteria. The approach for sampling was the randomized enumeration area. The interview schedule was used as a research tool, and the data collection period was in January 2018. Data analysis was done by PATH analysis with STATA program. The results found that factors effected directly on human capital accumulation consisted of 1) female migrant characteristics; marriage status and number of the dependent household member, 2) migration factor; remittance, 3) human capital factor; the computer skill and 4) economic factor; occupational income with statistical significance level at 0.01 and 0.05. In addition, it was found those female migrant characteristics; age, and education, human capital factor; training on occupational skill, and social capital factor; membership had indirect effects on human capital accumulation through single marriage status with statistical significance level at 0.01 and 0.05. In addition, the factor of female migrant characteristics, migration factor, human capital factor, economic factor, and social factor were able to explain the variance of human capital accumulation by 49.34 percent (the R-squared = 0.4934).

**Keywords:** Migration, Female Migration, Human Capital, Human Capital Accumulation, Economic Factor, Social Factor

## Introduction

Migration from rural areas to urban areas has become a mainstream migration of Thailand for decades. According to migration survey by the National Statistical Office in 2006, 52.56 percent of the migrant population was male migrants, while 47.44 percent was female migrants. However, considering only those who migrated to Bangkok, it appeared that the number of female migrants was higher than male migrants National Statistical Office, (2016). In addition, the analysis of domestic migration trends during 2007 to 2009 pointed out that female migrated from rural areas to urban areas and from urban areas to urban areas more than male (Tangchonlatip and Richter, 2011).

Therefore, it is to say that the migration of female is a movement from rural areas to urban areas, and the ratio of migration by the female is close to men.

Considering the destination of migrants, Chonburi is a province with the highest number of immigrants who are from the northern region of Thailand National Statistic Office (National Statistic Office, 2013). The number of migrations to Central region especially to Chonburi Province has been increasing because of developments of infrastructure, industrial sector, and services sector in the eastern region which have been growing rapidly. While the trend of work has shifted from industrial sector to services sector, so it resulted in the highest ratio of migrants who work in services sector with 34.5 percent in 2002 and up to 46.7 in 2006. Amongst these numbers, migrants from the northeastern region were found the most Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council (National Economic and Social Development Council, 2007). It can be said that economic growth in the industrial sector, and services and tourism sector become the pull factor attracting migrants to move to urban areas of Chonburi Province because urban areas of Chonburi is a location contains the capitals, and it is perfect for those who wish to accumulate, distribute, or seek advantage from the capitals (Harvey, 2012).

At destination areas, Most female migrants have conducted occupations in services sector such as waiter/ waitress, employees in the market, industrial employee, mechanic officers, clerk, etc. (National Statistical Office, 2013). These occupations have been defined as the occupational prestige at a moderate level and a fairly low level (Chantavanich, 1991).

Chamratrithirong (2007) conducted research on migration indicating that female migrants sent remittances, included facility stuff, to origin areas more than male migrants, and their parents were receivers. The remittances were a relief factor for eliminating poverty. It is clear that female migrants conducted migration due to economic purpose. They sent remittances higher than male even they had low education and conducted occupations with a moderate and fairly low level of occupational prestige. Therefore, research questions are raised. While female migrants are working at the destination areas, how do they accumulate human capital in order to improve knowledge and labor value for themselves, and what are factors determining the human capital accumulation of female migrants at destination areas. The output of research reveals the developing guideline for female migrants in accumulating human capital to improve individual capability in a long term.

### **Research Objective**

To examine the accumulation of human capital and factors determining human capital accumulation among northeastern female migrants at destination areas.

### **Theory and Concept**

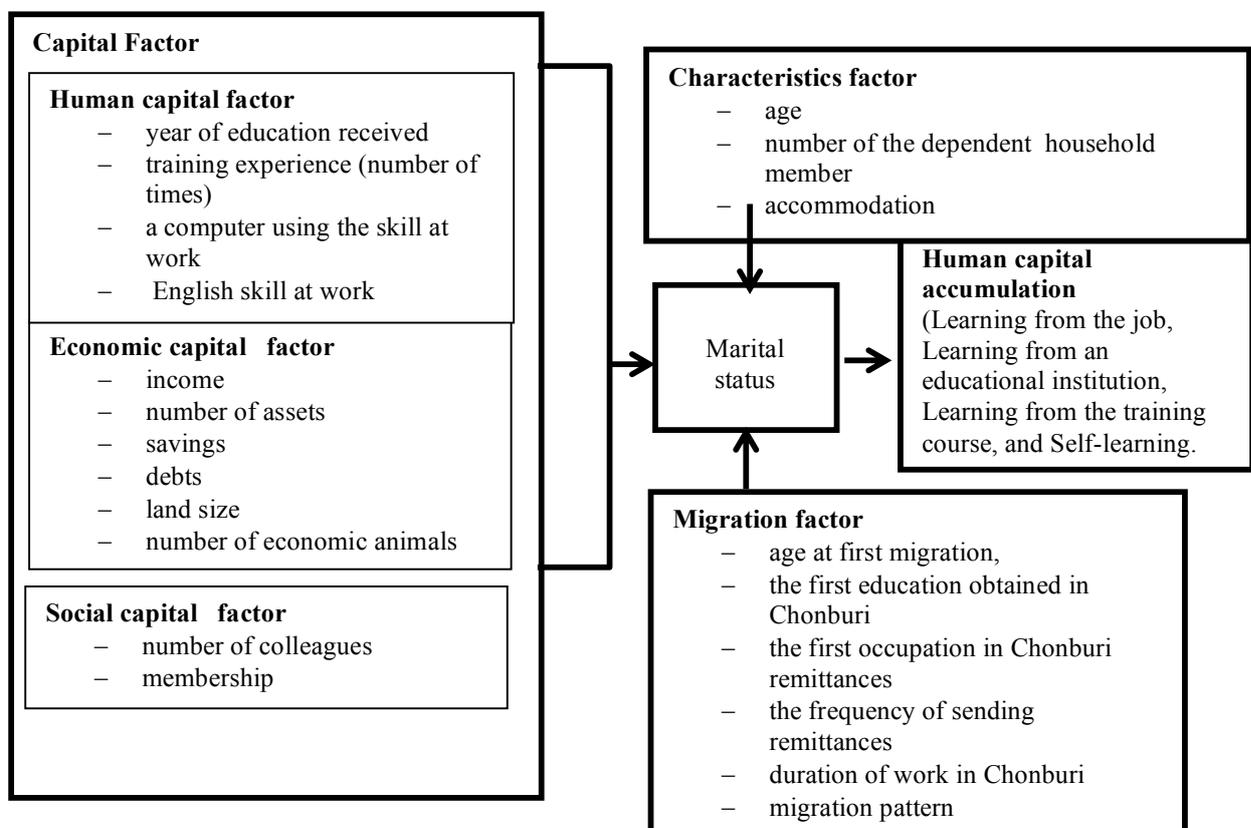
Human capital accumulation Becker (1964); assumption of the concept focuses on individuals who are able to choose education, training, and other knowledge improvements by weighing between benefits and cost they engaged in. In this case, benefits are in forms of culture and anything other than money received from occupational income, while cost is presenting as the take-out value such as time spent. The concept applied human capital indicators of the European Human Capital Index, which developed by the Lisbon Council and Deutschland Denkonto the study (Ederer, Schuller, & Willims, 2006). The researcher selects indicators regarding elements that secure human capital, and lead to economic activity, as indicators of human capital accumulation among female migrants. Therefore, the definition of human capital accumulation among female migrants is the actions that female migrants committed in order to accumulate human capital, such as education and occupational skill training, for themselves.

The researcher developed the conceptual framework by implementing the theory of the expected wage Todaro (1976) in the study. Todaro stated that migration between rural areas and urban areas was a response of individuals to the expected wages from work rather than a response to actual wages from actual work. Migrants made a

decision from opportunities in the labor market and decided to migrate when they think they would receive the maximum benefit. In addition, Lee (1966) stated that migration is a selectivity that focused on the importance of individual characteristics on migration. Therefore, this study applied individual characteristics including sex, age, marital status, education level, occupation, etc. to the study as an independent variable. In addition, variables from the qualitative study conducted by Saithong, Ayuwat, and Chinnasri (2018) are applied to this study.

Therefore, in this study, variables used to analyze consist of 1) characteristics factor; age, marital status, number of dependent household member, and accommodation, 2) migration factor; age at first migration, the first education obtained in Chonburi, the first occupation in Chonburi, remittances, frequency of sending remittances, duration of work in Chonburi, and migration pattern, 3) human capital factor; year of education received, training experience (number of times), computer using skill at work, and English skill at work, 4) economic capital factor; income, number of assets, savings, debts, land size, and number of economic animals, and 5) social capital factor; number of colleagues, and membership (figure 1).

**Figure 1 Conceptual Framework**



### Research Methodology

This research employed a quantitative methodology to examine the accumulation of human capital and factors determining human capital accumulation among northeastern female migrants at destination areas. Unit of analysis was at the individual level. Research sample were female migrants who were based on inclusion criteria as following details. 1) female migrant were those who migrated from rural northeastern Thailand and age between 20-45 years old, 2) they must engage occupations and earned income, 3) they had lived in urban areas of Chonburi province for 1-10 years, and 4) they engaged in 5 occupational categories including Major group 4; clerical support workers, Major group 5; service and sales workers, Major group 9; elementary occupations, Major group 7; craft and related trades workers, and Major group 8; plant and machine operators and assemblers.

A sample size of the study was 320 female migrants, calculated by Cohen's formula (Cohen, 1988). All 320 cases were sampling by stratified random sampling method Prasitrathasin (2005) and it was determined by the proportion of female migrants in each occupational category, which presented 380,908 female migrants in total (National Statistical Office, 2016). Sample group, thus, were selected by randomizing the Enumeration Area (EA) in accordance with the National Statistical Office's guideline. 18 EAs were randomized covering 3 districts Chonburi province including Meung district, Sriracha district, and Banglamung district (Pattaya).

The dependent variable was human capital accumulation which measured at the interval scale. Independent variables consisted of 3 variable groups included 1) female migrant characteristics; age, number of dependent household member, and accommodation, 2) migration factor; age at first migration, the first education obtained in Chonburi, the first occupation in Chonburi, remittances, frequency of sending remittances, duration of work in Chonburi, and migration pattern, 3) capital factor including *human capital*; year of education received, training experience (number of times), computer skill on work, and English skill on work, *economic capital*; income, number of assets, savings, debts, land size, and number of economic animals, and *social capital*; number of colleagues, and membership, while the extraneous variable was the single marital status. In addition, some independent variables (accommodation, the first education obtained in Chonburi, the first occupation in Chonburi, and migration pattern) had measuring scale lower than the interval scale, so these variables were adjusted as the dummy variable in order to input in the multivariate analysis.

Data collection was conducted by interview. Selected sample was classified by inclusion criteria. The interview schedule was constructed and tested (try out), and the reliability value was 0.907. Period of data collection was in January 2018. Chi-square test and PATH Analysis method were implemented in data analysis (Wuensch, 2016).

## **Result and Discussion**

Results of this paper cover female migrant characteristics, human capital accumulation, and determinants of human capital accumulation among female migrants as following details.

### **Characteristic of Female Migrants**

Majority of female migrants (56.9 percent) aged 21-38 years old (Gen Y), and followed by those who aged 39-45 years (Gen X) (40.0 percent). The average age of female migrants was 35 years old. The lowest age was 20 years old, and the oldest one was 45 years old. It was noticed that although female migrants were into middle age, they still intended to stay at Chonburi, where was a destination of migration. More than half of female migrants did not have to household members who were the dependent-aged person (below 15 years old and over 60 years old) at origin areas. However, one-third of female migrants were responsible for taking care of dependent aged-household member at origin areas. They had to take care of those who were left behind at their origin areas since it was a traditional practice of Thai daughters (migrants) who were expected to send remittance back to origin areas (Knodel et. al. 2000). This research also found that more than 85 percent of female migrants lived at destination places without dependent household members. Regarding education, female migrants graduated primary school level (26.6 percent), secondary school (21.3 percent), and junior high school level (20.3 percent) respectively, and found 16.6 percent of them graduated Bachelor degree. In addition, most female migrants (83.1 percent) had never attended training on occupational skills. This result indicated that female migrants obtained only primary education and most of them had never received any skill-based training while they were living at destination places. This became the limitation of female migrant to access high skilled-occupation.

### **Human Capital Accumulations of Female Migrants**

The results revealed 4 methods used to accumulate human capital among female migrants. Details of the method are as following details.

**Learning from the job** included the on-the-job training (OJT) at the workplace and learning from secondary learning materials. These learning methods occurred among female migrants who conducted different works. The on the job learning mostly appeared in industrial workplaces. Duration of learning was short. They had learned their tasks over and over, so it resulted in an improvement in their working skills. Another learning method generally was found in female migrants who worked in services and tourism sector. Learning from secondary learning materials was quite flexible in working time, so it allowed female migrants to allocate time to learn by themselves such as using the internet, reading, etc. The quantitative analysis found 51.3 percent of the majority of female migrants had a low level of human capital accumulation by learning from the workplace (5-7 points), and only 26.6 percent of them had a high level of learning at the workplace (11 -15 points).

**Learning from educational institution** referred to a study from educational curriculums provided by educational institutions. Female migrants had attended learning at educational institutions along with working at the same time, so they had to manage time between working and learning. Many of female migrants chose to study at the vocational level which took around 2 years. When they graduated, they were able to use the graduation certificate to apply for a job such as accounting, etc. Some female migrants chose to study in the general course in order to enter an undergraduate degree in an open university. This type of study took longer than the vocational education, but the bachelor's degree provided more opportunities to work in secured occupations, such as government jobs, etc. the result revealed that 88.1 percent of female migrants had a low level of human capital accumulation by learning from educational institutions (6-8 points).

**Learning from training course** means a short-training course to improve occupational skills such as beauty course, Thai massage course, cooking course, English language course, etc. Most courses took between 3-6 months, and training courses were organized by public agencies, private agencies, or the non-profit organization. Female migrants chose to take the training course because they were able to start occupational activity immediately after they completed training courses. They also allocated the time off work time along with the training period. It was found that 96.5 percent of female migrants had a low level of human capital accumulation by learning from a training course (10-14 points).

**Self-learning** means female migrants learned and applied their skills to their works. This type of learning normally occurred among those who had noticeable character and applying thoughts to their works. Self-learning mostly was found in jobs regarding services and tourism sector. This kind of learning can happen with the service sector and tourism sector. The quantitative analysis found 64.1 percent of female migrants had a low level of human capital accumulation by self-learning (6-9 points).

In addition, the results indicated that female migrants were able to accumulate human capital at the destination, and it could be beneficial to them to secure livings. For instance, they had a higher education level, or they had better working skills. Outcomes of human capital accumulation led to a better occupation as same as a study by Jacobs (1999) titled "Trends in Women's Career and Gender in Britain", which found that although the qualifications of female and the proportion of participation in work were increasing, the human capital of female did not increase. It reflected that although female migrants had the potential to learn and improve their human capital, but the accumulation of human capital through 4 methods, namely learning from workplace, learning from educational institutions, learning from training course, and self-learning, still found at low level because female migrants might have individual characteristics before migration differ from Lee's theory of migration (Lee, 1966). Therefore, female migrants had to learn more at their destinations. However, this paper revealed that female migrants always seek opportunities to improve their potentials through various methods.

### **Determinants of Human Capital Accumulation among Female Migrants**

Multi-collinearity test was implemented in order to observe linear association among independent variables input in the analysis, and there was no issue of multicollinearity among independent variables. Thus, Path Analysis was

implemented in data analysis to examine factors including characteristics factor, migration factor, and the capital factor which influenced on the single marital status (Table 1) and drew a path diagram (Figure 2). The results found that variables presented a positive direct effect on human capital accumulation consisted of 4 variables, and variables presented a negative direct effect on human capital accumulation consisted of 1 variable as following details

1) Single marital status (X2) had path relationship with human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.01 level and had a positive direct effect with regression coefficient (b) by 2.174. It indicated that female migrants who had single marital status would have more opportunity to accumulate human capital than those who had other types of marital status by 2.174. The single marital status had a path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) by 0.137, which presented that a variable accounted for 13.7 percent in explaining human capital accumulation. The findings supported Saithong (2018) who found that female migrants had better opportunity to accumulate human capital while they were still single while Fabrizio and Juan (2010) who found that the high-educated women tended to get married less than other women. It was said that if a woman accumulated human capital by education, it was possible that they received education or accumulated human capital for themselves while they were having a single marital status.

2) A number of dependent household members (X4) had path relationship with human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.05 level and had a positive direct effect with regression coefficient (b) by 0.696. When female migrants took care of their dependent household members 1 person, human capital accumulation among them would increase by 0.696. A number of the dependent household member had a path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) by 0.121, which represented that a variable accounted for 12.1 percent in explaining human capital accumulation. It indicated that if female migrants had more dependent household members to be taken care at origin area, they had to accumulate more human capitals at destination areas because they had to sacrifice themselves for the household at origin areas. The findings confirmed Tacoli (1999) study that suggested that the migration of female migrants depended on migrant's self-interests and benefits of migrant households.

3) Remittance (X10) had path relationship with human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.05 level and had a positive direct effect with regression coefficient (b) by 0.0002. This indicated if remittance per month increased by 1 Thai Baht, human capital accumulation among female migrant increased by 0.0002. Remittance also had a path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) by 0.120, which represented that a variable accounted for 12.0 percent in explaining human capital accumulation. The findings confirmed Göbel (2013) who found that remittance was what female migrants representing the importance of human capital accumulation. Human capital accumulation resulted in female migrants had more working skills and experiences and higher education, so female migrants were able to work better and had higher incomes.

4) Computer skill on work (X14) had path relationship with human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.01 level and had a positive direct effect with regression coefficient (b) by 0.733. This indicated when female migrants had more computer skill on work by 1 unit, human capital accumulation among them increased by 0.733. Computer skill on work also had a path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) by 0.408, which represented that a variable accounted for 40.8 percent in explaining human capital accumulation. The result confirmed Davenport (1999) who found that all individuals owned human capital. Individuals had the authority to make a decision on how do they invest in human capital or create value on human capital. Computer skill improved the potential of female migrants at the workplace. They had the ability to learn computer skills through various computer programs, and they applied the ability to improve working potential and had higher incomes. Moreover, female migrant used computer skill to create a social network to make a connection with others.

5) Income (X16) had path relationship with human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.05 level and had a negative direct effect with regression coefficient (b) by -0.00004. This indicated when the income of female migrants increased 1 Thai Baht, human capital accumulation among them decreased by 0.00004. Income also had a path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) by -0.110, which represented that a variable accounted for 11.0 percent in explaining

human capital accumulation. The result supported Saithong (2018) who found those female migrants engaged in occupations with less income because they wanted to spend more times on higher education. Female migrants expected higher education would lead them to conduct secured occupations with higher income.

Moreover, the study revealed 4 variables, including age, year of education received, training experience (number of times), and membership, presented an indirect effect on human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.05 level. All variables that affected human capital accumulation were used to draw the path diagrams, 9 diagrams in total. The variables accounted for 49.34 percent of the variance in explaining human capital accumulation among female migrants ( $R^2 = 0.4934$ ) (figure 2).

Comparing path coefficient ( $\beta$ ) of all 10 variables that influenced on human capital accumulation, found that computer skill on work (X14) ( $\beta = 0.408$ ) had the highest effect on human capital accumulation with statistical significance at the 0.01 level, and followed by Single marital status (X2) ( $\beta = 0.137$ ), Number of dependent household member (X4) ( $\beta = 0.121$ ), remittance (X10) ( $\beta = 0.120$ ), and education (X12) ( $\beta = 0.023$ ) respectively.

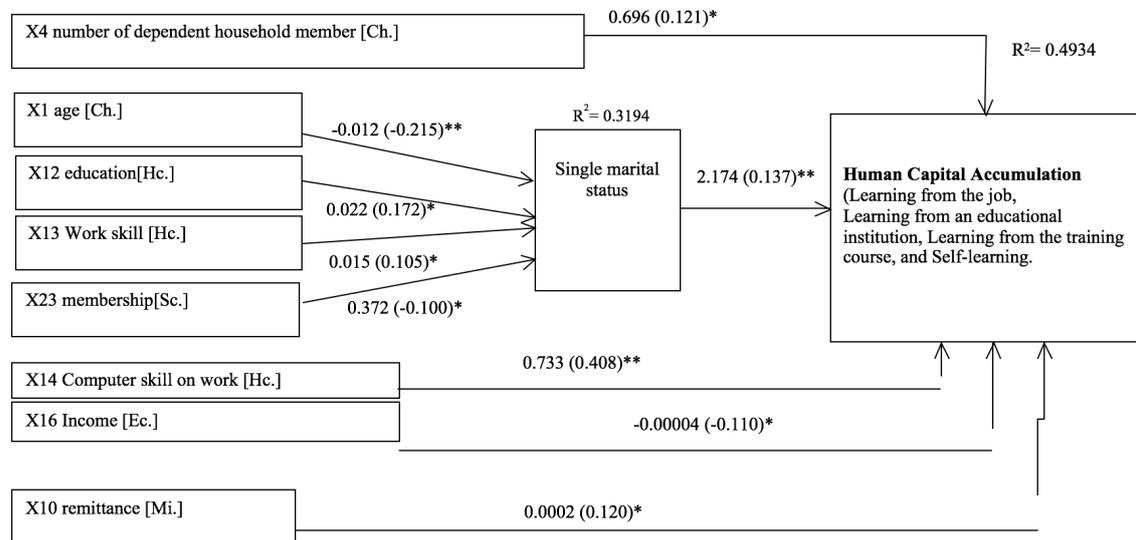
Therefore, it is concluded that characteristics factor, migration factor, and capital factor are the determinants of human capital accumulation among female migrants, which the hypothesis is confirmed. Computer skill on work has the highest effect on human capital accumulation by 40.8 percent. It is clear that computer skill is a crucial skill that female migrants have to learn and train in order to improve their potentials. This confirms the theory of human capital Becker (1993) that suggested that individuals make a decision to receive education and training by comparing to benefits and cost they have spent.

**Table 1** Regression Coefficient, Standardize of Regression Coefficient and Coefficient of Human Capital Accumulation of Female Migrants

Variables	Human capital accumulation [ $R^2 = 0.4934$ ]			order
	b	$\beta$	Sig	
<b>Characteristics factor</b>				
X1age (year)	0.029	0.033	0.633	
X4number of the dependent household member	0.696	0.121	0.010	3
X5house	-0.955	-0.066	0.189	
X6 apartment	0.872	0.047	0.359	
<b>Migration factor</b>				
X7age of first migration	-0.093	-0.090	0.107	
X9first occupation at Chonburi	0.113	0.006	0.886	
X10 remittance(number)	0.0002	0.120	0.024	4
X11monthly remittance	-1.501	-0.099	0.063	
X27duration of work at Chonburi (year)	0.007	0.003	0.947	
X28indirect migration	-1.301	-0.089	0.083	
<b>Capital factor</b>				
X12education	0.126	0.061	0.311	5
X13Work skill (number of training course)	0.152	0.065	0.134	
X14 Computer skill on work	0.733	0.408	0.000	1
X15English skill on work	0.193	0.102	0.061	
X16 Income (monthly)	-0.00004	-0.110	0.018	
X17Asset(number)	-0.002	-0.002	0.963	
X18saving	4.040	0.064	0.163	
X19 debts	2.010	0.000	0.984	
X20land size	-0.051	-0.072	0.104	
X21economic animals (number)	0.128	0.032	0.470	
X22colleagues (number)	0.172	0.050	0.284	

X23 membership	1.307	0.022	0.611	
Single marital status	2.174	0.137	0.006	2

**Figure 2** Path Analysis of Factors influenced directly on Human Capital Accumulation among Female Migrants and Factors influenced indirectly on Human Capital Accumulation through single marital status.



Remark \*\* Significance Level at 0.01 \* Significance Level at 0.05 Effect  $b(\beta)$

## Conclusion and Suggestions

This paper explores 2 major conclusions which are (1) human capital accumulation of female migrants at destination areas has done through 4 methods including 1) learning from the Job, 2) learning from educational institutions, 3) learning from the training course, and 4) self-learning. The results also found a low level of human capital accumulation in each accumulating methods. Therefore, the process of learning in each method should be developed in order to implement as a mechanism to accumulate human capital. Another major conclusion is Cohen (1988) the determinants of human capital accumulation among female migrants at destination areas consisted of characteristics factor, migration factor, and capital factor. Computer skill on work is a determinant that performs the highest predictive power (40.8 percent). Therefore, agencies related to women's potential development should provide the computer skill on work to female migrants to learn and train more in order to increase human capital. In addition, the results are able to implement in the policy suggestions to promote human capital accumulation among female migrants who are both single and get married. Female migrants with single status should be promoted to receive training on computer skill in order to accumulate human capital, while female migrants with marriage status should be supported by the policy to reduce the burden on taking caring of dependent household member at origin areas in which lead to more opportunity of female migrants in accumulating human capital.

## Acknowledgments

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# Ties Strength and Knowledge Transfer: Investigation of Innovation Diffusion in Co-Authorship Networks

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## Abstract

This study investigates the factors affecting the output of authors' cooperation. This cooperation can have a crucial role in the development of economics and technology in different fields. The investigated factors can create outputs that are more innovative and lead to better performance of intra-alliance and inter-alliance networks. The focus of this study is on transferring or exchanging intra information resources at the ego (small groups embedded in a network) and dyad levels of cooperation (individuals embedded in a group) shaped as an egocentric network using social network theory. The theory explains the effect that the strength of interpersonal ties at the dyad level has on knowledge exchange by considering how redundant information can be when it is received by an ego in networks. The authors of this paper demonstrate differences of information diffusion depending on the strength of interpersonal ties created by first authors. This study considered results of 206 studies in two areas of social science (economics and tourism) through an examination of quantitative data extracted from the Web of Science using the Histcite software. Amos was used for testing mediation effects, and SPSS version 23 was used to analyze the data via Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) methodology.

**Keywords:** Knowledge Transfer, Intra-Network Learning, Ties Strength, Bibliography Network, Diffusion of Innovation

## 1. Introduction

Innovation and progress are made by inventors and scholars who might never meet each other face to face but still can collaborate in the form of a network in creative ways in order to advance the development of industries, economies, and so on. Generally, innovation is becoming a crucial element of society, economies, and the policymaking process. Innovation can be achieved by exploring something new or optimizing existing products or services and utilizing a new method to resolve problems and produce better outcomes. Innovative performance cannot occur spontaneously. There are countless factors or variables which lead products or services to be more novel and give them better performance in different regions such as infrastructure, professional labor availability, labor mobility, the availability of venture capital for innovative risk-taking, R&D stock, and copyright policies. The impact of these factors has been tested through diverse perspectives, and the conducted research works have

contributed to theories in various fields (Davila, Foster, & Gupta, 2003; Lee, Florida, & Acs, 2004; Mowery, Sampat, & Ziedonis, 2002). Scholars have initiated multiple investigations on what impacts the cooperation of these small-world networks (Fleming, King, & Juda, 2006; Uzzi, Guimera, Spiro, & Amaral, 2006).

Arguably, better, more innovative performance in co-authorship networks is happening because of diversity in dyad level relationships. Inventors are less willing to read textbooks or scientific literature reviews and more likely to approach their colleagues and collaborators who know or have read about related research topics and have more experience (Borgatti & Cross, 2003). In this study, we considered networks of papers in two research areas written by authors in China and USA. We focus on the relationship between articles' bibliography in two research areas (economics and tourism) extracted from the novel data using the Web of Science database. First, we argue for the redundant information exchanged among papers by looking at their numbers of local references and impact of that information on total citations of papers. Second, we test the papers' local citation number as a mediator between local references and the total number of papers' citations. Third, we demonstrate which approach would be the most beneficial in the conflict of repeated ties and unrepeated ties between papers' authors to help new information spread out of the network, and fourth, we test the assumption that the relationship between local citations and the number of global citations is going to be different for the authors in China and in the United States based on ties strength. The construction of an actor's set of direct ties (i.e., the actor's "egocentric network structure") was selected as a network of co-authors rather than triadic closure (i.e., whether an actor's partners are partners). The networks are diagrammed in Figure 1. In this study, all relational analyses and measurements are calculated, assuming egocentric networks.



Figure 1: Different types of ties structure within a group. The egocentric structure type (on the left) and the triadic closure structure type (on the right).

## 2. Theory and hypotheses

The social network literature is vast and diverse, implemented in different fields such as organizational sociology, political science, and organization theory at various levels of analysis: individual or interpersonal (dyad), impersonal (ego), and whole network in different groups, firms, organizations, and countries. Social network theory has been used widely because it not only gives researchers an opportunity to investigate the individual impact of a node but also explains how the social relationships among actors can be calculated (Galaskiewicz & Wasserman, 1994). Social network research follows an empirical approach that demonstrates the patterns of interactions among actors.

### 2.1 Inter, Intra-Network Knowledge Transfer and Diffusion of Innovation

Because of the complexity and various levels of application in the social network theory, the results are quite dependent on factors that are based on the construction of networks used by the researchers. Presenting an appropriate analysis of why a network or node acts as observed by the researchers is a key point that leads to the better adoption of any network study (Zaheer, Gözübüyük, & Milanov, 2010). Experiential knowledge extracted from intra-organizational learning or exploitative learning processes can be exchanged between organizations as they are learning within the network or collaborating with an inter-organizations alliance (Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996). Intra- and inter-network learning are related (e.g., (Baum & Rowley, 2002). This relationship is vital because technological novelty arises from a mixture of current technologies (Schumpeter, 1939) and the innovation process that includes inventors producing novelty by recombining existing information (Fleming & Sorenson, 2001; Kogut & Zander, 1992). In this paper, homogeneity or intra-network learning is defined by the numbers of

local references of the papers included in the sample. For better understanding, consider Figure 2. In that Figure, we know all the connections among nodes defined as groups of authors embedded in the network (each group represents a paper) within a research alliance network of Tourism (homogenous connections) which includes and transfers redundant information among groups which causes a decrease of information novelty. However, we do not know the details of other connections between the nodes and alliance networks in other research fields (for example, Art and Humanities), which are considered as heterogeneous or inter-organizational ties or connections.

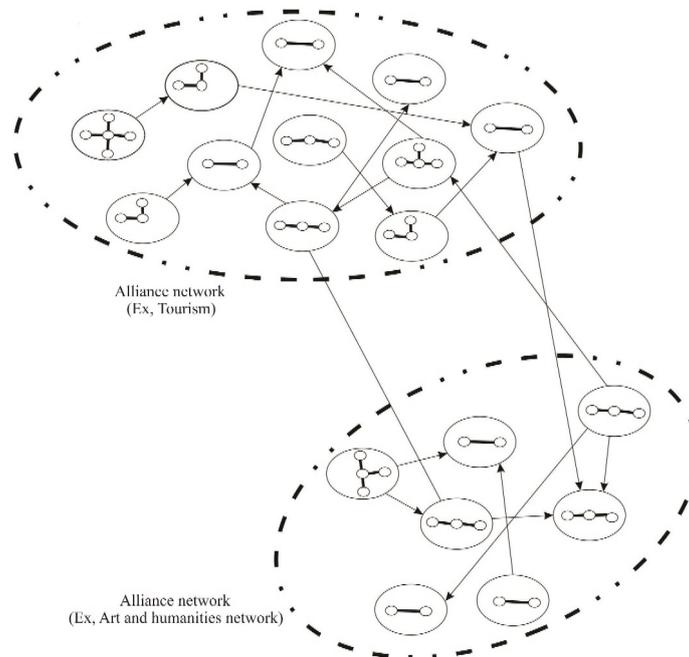


Figure 2. An example of connections among individuals embedded into groups, and groups embedded into alliance networks.

**H1: A paper's learning through internal information resources (local references) in an alliance network is negatively related to its inter-alliance diffusion of innovation (number of citations outside the network).**

(Asheim & Isaksen, 2002) Demonstrated that an innovative network is important for receiving the optimal allocation of resources and promoting knowledge transfer performance. New and novel information can involve more groups of scholars in an alliance network and furthermore more authors in that particular research area. Another benefit is that increasing novel knowledge can enhance opportunities for experts in other research areas to be a part of research work; this cross-pollination leads to better performance in each area's alliance network and allows networks of social sciences to be more closely related.

**H2: Intra-alliance knowledge transfer capability (the number of papers' citations) mediates the relationship between intra-alliance network learning and inter-alliance diffusion of innovation.**

*2.2 Intra-Network Knowledge Transfer x Repeated and Unrepeated Ties*

At the dyad level, we consider the moderating effects of repeated and unrepeated ties on intra-network knowledge transfer capability and diffusion performance of papers. Weak personal ties cause non-redundant knowledge and bring about innovation. (Granovetter, 1973) discussed the "strength of weak ties" and stated the critical role of weak ties, which is to spread information and provide access to non-redundant knowledge. For example, studies of small-world networks have shown that people in a large network are more interested in relying on people they do not know well; these relationships are considered to be weak ties (Dodds, Muhamad, & Watts, 2003). Many papers such as (Guimera, Uzzi, Spiro, & Amaral, 2005) have demonstrated that groups with more weak ties are more productive, probably because they have more novel information transferred through the weak ties. In contrast, (Bian, 1997) argued that more job opportunities came from the strong ties that exist among family or

relatives and that weak ties result in a lower level of new knowledge in recruiting networks (Aral & Van Alstyne, 2011). It is also known that weak ties do not spread novel information about healthcare (Christakis & Fowler, 2007).

**H3: A higher number of repeated ties negatively moderates the relationship between knowledge transfer capability and diffusion of innovation. A paper with a higher number of repeated ties in an egocentric group is less likely to spread or share information with the inter-alliance network.**

### 2.3 Commonalities Between Authors and Diffusion of Innovation

Attitudinal composition of networks refers to the composition in which the individuals embedded into a network share common viewpoints and beliefs (Visser & Mirabile, 2004). It has been argued that beliefs that is shared among people who are the part of a particular network along with common views on certain questions and problems, might have an important part in the formation of those groups and might also determine ties strength (Levitan & Visser, 2009). Chinese people have strong ties based on culture, origin, kinship, and family, and distinct attitudes exist, separating insiders from outsiders (Fan, 2002; Tong & Mitra, 2009). In egocentric networks, we suppose that all partners are chosen by leaders. For example, the first author of an article selects other members. Since all first authors in our data sample are Chinese living in China and the US and based on the assumption that there are more Chinese scholars in China than in the US, we tested if there was any difference in information diffusion based on the first authors' location.

**H4: Higher diffusion of innovation occurs more among Chinese scholars with the first authorship who live in China compared to Chinese scholars with the first authorship who live in the US.**

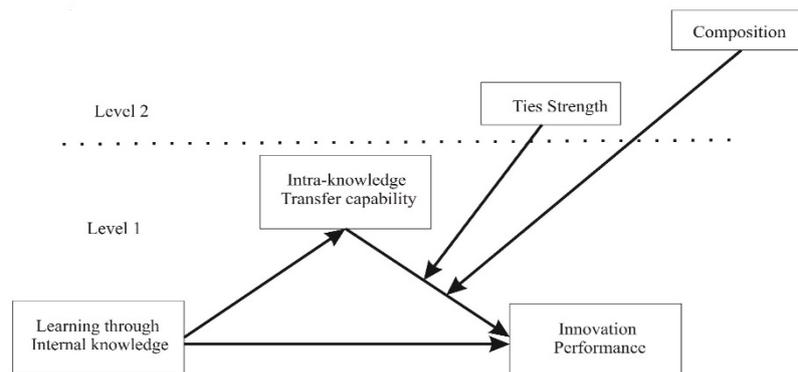


Figure 3: Hypothesized Model, the impacts of internal knowledge exchange, knowledge transfer capability, ties strength, and network composition on groups' diffusion of innovation.

### 3. Sample and data collection

Quantitative data was collected about collaborations of authors between universities in the United States of America and China in the Social Science field from 1974 to October 2017 through the usage of the advanced search option in the Web of Science database. Then the software "Histcite" was used to analyze the data. From 1716 articles in total, a sample of 211 articles was extracted in two different research areas (Tourism and Economics)\*1 which was the number of papers linked to each other by citations and references out of the initial sample. The networks were created by linking the references and citations of the papers; Ucinet was used to

<sup>1</sup> \*Tourism journals: (Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing, Current Issues in Tourism, Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, Journal of Vacation Marketing, Journal of Travel Research, Annals of Tourism Research, Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Journal of Destination Marketing and Management, International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, Current Issues in Tourism, Tourism Economics, Tourism Geographies, Tourism Management, International Journal of Hospitality Management, Journal of Destination Marketing and Management).

\*Economics journals: (Econometrics Journal, Econometric Reviews, Journal of Business and Economic Statistics, Journal of Econometrics, Journal of Business and Economic Statistics, Review of Economics and Statistics, Econometrica, Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, Empirical Economics, Econometric Theory).

illustrate the network of the papers' bibliography in two study areas: two groups in economics and one in Tourism. At the first stage of analysis, it was discovered that the majority of first authors working in US universities were actually Chinese by ethnicity, but they worked with partners or coauthors in China, the USA, and a small number of other countries such as South Korea and Spain.

To reflect this fact, this study omitted all papers whose first author was not ethnically Chinese (we used Google Scholar profiles to confirm the ethnicity), so all sample papers had a Chinese first author who was working in a Chinese or American (USA) university. Five single-author papers were deleted from the economics area (no cooperation), and 125 and 81 articles on Tourism and Economics research areas respectively were selected. The network architectures created by Ucinet are shown below.

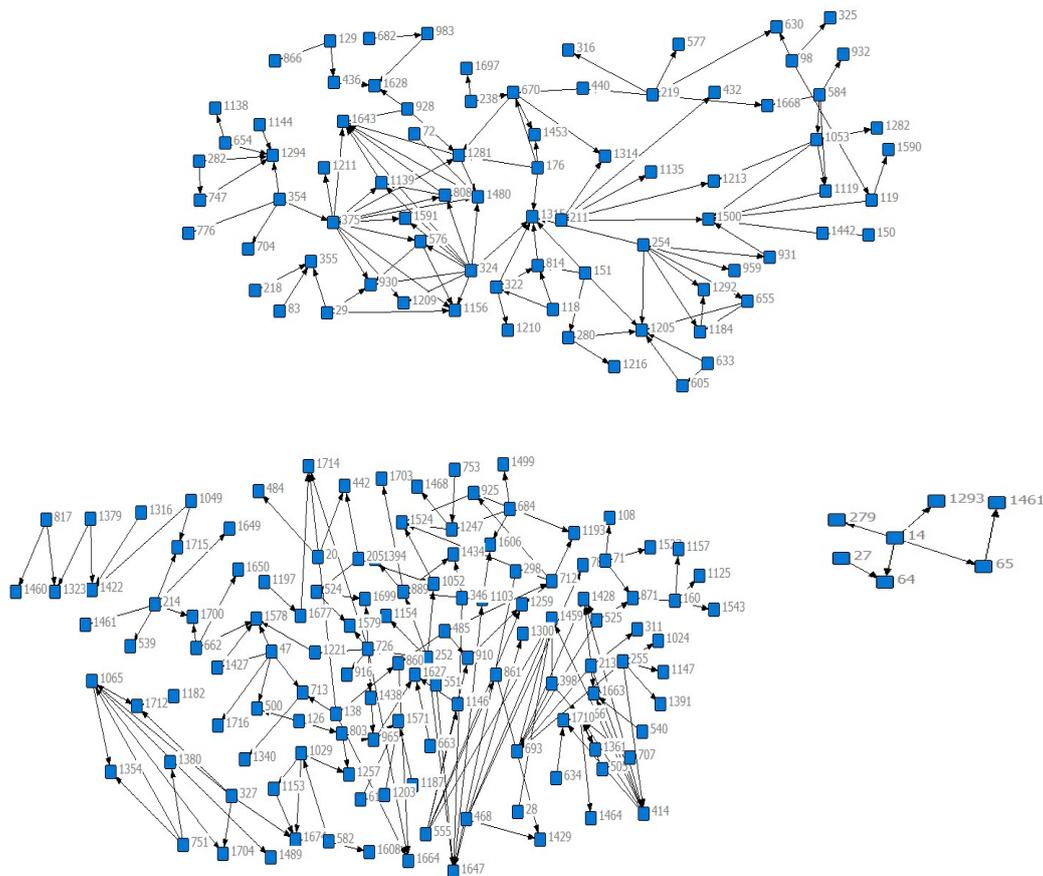


Figure 5. Structures of networks with directional ties (cited and referenced papers): two networks consist of groups published in the economics research area and one in the tourism research area

#### 4. Method and variable measurement

The importance of highly cited patents and papers is recognized by researchers (Trajtenberg, 1990). In this study, Global citations subtracted from local citations of papers were used as a quantitative indicator of inter-network diffusion of innovation. The software "Histcite" and "Ucinet" were used to draw the networks' structure by looking at the numbers of citations (local citation score) and references (local cited references) of the papers. Next, we used local cited references as the measurement for learning from internal resources. This measurement shows the number of intra-network references for a node, and we define the local citation score as the capability of a node to spread or transfer knowledge to intra-network alliances after it processes the knowledge it has received from intra-

network databases. Many ties strength assessment methods and measurements exist, such as the measurement method using five Likert-scale items for closeness and relational trust seen in (Marsden, 1990; Marsden & Gorman, 1999). In this research, we use a new way of calculating the group's ties strength: the repeated cooperation of first authors with other coauthors. This idea is based on the fact that the question "Does familiarity breed trust?" has been answered with "Yes, as demonstrated by repeated ties" by prior researchers (Gulati, 1995; Zheng & Yang, 2015). We define weak ties as "unrepeated ties" (only one interaction and no former cooperation observed) and strong ties as "repeated ties" (the authors have cooperated once or more times previously). In the next stage, the number of repeated ties was subtracted from the number of unrepeated ties since our data included the total number of research collaborations from the year 1974 including all prior individual collaborations in these networks. For example, article number 966 had four authors: Zhang HM (Zhang, Hongmei), Fu XX (Fu, Xiaoxiao), Cai LPA (Cai, Liping A.), and Lu L (Lu, Lin) who cooperated on the paper "Destination image and tourist loyalty: A meta-analysis" published in the *Tourism Management Journal* in February 2014. In this case, we suppose that Zhang HM is the leader and center (see Figure 1). We found that Zhang HM had never worked with these three authors before, so in this case, the number of the group's unrepeated ties was 3 and the number of group's repeated ties was 0. Then we subtracted the number of repeated ties from unrepeated ties to get the value of (-3) in order to calculate ties strength of a group as a continuous variable. To investigate the group's network composition, we investigated where the first author was located to see if there were any differences between authors living in the US and in China (including Hong Kong). As data was not collected through questionnaires, we were not able to know the age and gender of authors, so we adopted group size which refers to the number of co-authors of papers, year of papers' publication, and SJR index of journals in the publication year using the website information ([www.scimagojr.com](http://www.scimagojr.com)) and prior experience (prior number of publications as the first author) of first authors as control variables. The multilevel analysis of groups in alliance networks, authors' cooperation, and country impacts were tested using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) (Raudenbush, 2004). HLM and structural variance decomposition have been implemented in different studies (Bou & Satorra, 2007, 2010) and HLM is a suitable technique for this study because of the definition of hierarchical data (in our case, authors are nested in papers and papers nested in innovative alliance networks). HLM provides for simultaneous partitioning of the variance-covariance components, while "explicitly accounting for the independence of errors assumptions that may be violated when using other techniques such as OLS regression" (Siemsen, Roth, & Oliveira, 2010). HLM is more flexible with data since it allows estimation of random and fixed effects.

## 5. Result

### 5.1 Preliminary Analysis

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations (Pearson two-tailed tests) of all the variables are presented in Table 1. The average group size was 2.94 authors, and the average prior experience for the first author was 1.76 between 2000 and 2017, according to the data. The majority of first authors, 51.5 percent (106 scholars), were located in Chinese universities and other 48.5 percent (100 scholars) were located in US universities

Table 1. Means, Standard deviation, and correlations<sup>a</sup>

Variables	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Group size	2.96	0.81	2.00	6.00												
2 Impact Factor	2.44	2.01	0.22	19.52	-0.18*											
3 Prior Experience	1.76	2.70	0	14.00	-0.06	0.06										
4 Publication Year	2012.63	3.97	2000.00	2017.00	0.31**	-0.12	0.20**									
5 Area <sup>b</sup>	1.60	0.48	1.00	2.00	0.24**	-0.45**	-0.06	0.19**								
6 diffusion of innovation	15.64	25.14	0	209.00	-0.08	0.07	-0.10	-0.48**	0.11							
7 Intra-learning	1.25	1.69	0	10.00	-0.13	0.14*	-0.04	-0.49**	0.00	0.61**						
8 Intra-knowledge transfer	1.34	1.39	0	7.00	0.18**	-0.08	0.27**	0.47**	-0.07	-0.33**	-0.38**					
9 Composition <sup>c</sup>	1.48	0.50	1.00	2.00	-0.01	0.29**	0.13	-0.03	-0.31**	-0.05	0.07	0.04				
10 Repeated ties	0.54	0.76	0	5.00	0.17*	-0.02	0.27**	0.21**	0.07	-0.12	-0.13	0.26**	0.07			
11 Un-repeated Ties	1.44	1.04	0	5.00	0.69**	-0.14*	-0.23**	0.11	0.16*	0.05	0.00	-0.03	-0.07	-0.55**		
12 Ties strength	-0.90	1.60	-4.00	5.00	-0.37**	0.09	0.28**	0.02	-0.07	-0.09	-0.07	0.15*	0.08	0.84**	-0.92**	1

\*Significant at level  $P < 0.05$

\*\*Significant at level  $P < 0.01$

b 1=Papers published in the Economics area. 2=Papers published in the Tourism area.

c 1= First authors are located in China or Hong Kong. 2= First authors are located in the US.

a Pearson product-moment correlations based on two-tailed tests (N=206).

## 5.2 Main Analysis

First, Hypotheses 1 and 2 were tested without considering moderators using Amos to analyze mediation effects and we used the following control variables: group size, impact factor, year of publication, and prior experience. **Model 1** (Path a:  $F(5,200) = 16.65$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ,  $R^2 = 0.29$ ), (Group size  $\beta = 0.14$ ,  $t(200) = 1.04$ ,  $P = 0.29$ , Impact Factor  $\beta = 0.08$ ,  $t(200) = 1.53$ ,  $P = 0.12$ , Year of publication  $\beta = -0.18$ ,  $t(200) = -5.98$ ,  $P < 0.001$ , Prior experience  $\beta = 0.06$ ,  $t(200) = 1.54$ ,  $P = 0.12$ , Learning through internal knowledge  $\beta = -0.26$ ,  $t(200) = -3.17$ ,  $P = 0.001$ ), **Model 2** (Path b and c:  $F(6,199) = 24.94$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ,  $R^2 = 0.43$ ), (Group size  $\beta = 1.88$ ,  $t(199) = 1.05$ ,  $P = 0.29$ , Impact Factor  $\beta = -0.23$ ,  $t(199) = -0.33$ ,  $P = 0.74$ , Year of publication  $\beta = -1.49$ ,  $t(199) = -3.39$ ,  $P = 0.001$ , Prior experience  $\beta = -0.11$ ,  $t(199) = -0.21$ ,  $P = 0.83$ , Learning through internal knowledge  $\beta = -0.86$ ,  $t(199) = -0.75$ ,  $P = 0.45$ , knowledge transfer capability  $\beta = 7.30$ ,  $t(199) = 7.71$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ), and **Model 3** (path c'  $F(5,200) = 13.92$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ,  $R^2 = 0.26$ ), (Group size  $\beta = 2.89$ ,  $t(200) = 1.43$ ,  $P = 0.29$ , Impact Factor  $\beta = 0.34$ ,  $t(200) = 0.44$ ,  $P = 0.63$ , Year of publication  $\beta = -2.80$ ,  $t(200) = -6.11$ ,  $P < 0.001$ , Prior experience  $\beta = 0.33$ ,  $t(200) = 0.55$ ,  $P = 0.58$ , Learning through internal knowledge  $\beta = -2.81$ ,  $t(200) = -2.20$ ,  $P = 0.03$ ). Standardized coefficients were reported.

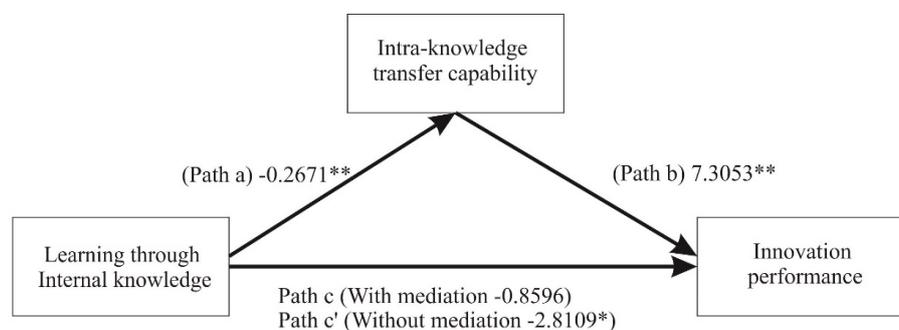


Figure 6. Mediation effect

For partial mediation effect, two methods were used, first (path a x path b) which is -1.94 (BOOTLLCI= -3.32 and BOOULCI= -0.98) (this intervals do not include zero), then the Sobel Test (normal theory test) with the result (Z= -2.90, P= 0.003). The results show that knowledge transfer capability is a partial mediator in the model. Next, we tested variables by HLM adding Level 2 (ties strength) and the comparison between universities of first authors to the model. We also added squared variance changes. The number of samples is reported in the table below.

Table 2. Results of Hierarchy Linear Regression Analysis: Effect of Ties, Strength, and Country.

variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Group Size	2.55 (2.04)	1.88 (1.79)	1.58 (1.93)	1.83 (1.93)	1.26 (1.90)	1.78 (1.87)
Impact Factor	0.26 (0.79)	-0.23 (0.69)	-0.22 (0.69)	0.14 (0.32)	0.33 (0.71)	0.50 (0.70)
Year Of Publication	-3.22*** (0.42)	-1.49*** (0.43)	-1.49*** (0.44)	-1.52** (0.44)	-1.28*** (0.44)	-1.21*** (0.43)
Prior Experience	0.05 (0.59)	-0.11 (0.53)	-0.06 (0.55)	0.04 (0.55)	0.01 (0.54)	0.07 (0.52)
Intra-Learning		-0.86 (1.15)	-0.89 (1.16)	-0.74 (1.16)	-0.87 (1.13)	-1.02 (1.11)
Intra-Transfer Capability		7.30*** (0.95)	7.28*** (0.95)	7.36** (0.95)	6.03*** (1.02)	14.15 (2.82)***
Group Ties Strength			-0.39 (0.96)	-0.31 (0.96)	1.29 (1.08)	1.22 (1.05)
Country				-5.08* (2.84)	-5.24* (2.78)	0.56 (3.31)
Intra-Transfer ×Ties Strength					-1.68** (0.59)	-1.42** (0.55)
Intra-transfer × Country						-4.89*** (1.59)
Sample	206	206	206	206	206	206
R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.43	0.43	0.44	0.46	0.48
Delta R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.19	0	0.01	0.02	0.2
Delta F	15.89**	32.93**	0.17	3.21*	9.10**	9.43**

\*\*\*Significant at the level of P<0.01, Two-tailed test. Beta unstandardized coefficients (Standard Errors) are reported in this table. \*\* Significant at the level of P<0.05. \* Significant at the level of P<0.1.

For **Model 1** including only control variables, standardized and unstandardized (in table) coefficients, and partial correlations were reported: Group Size  $\beta = 0.09$ ,  $t(201) = 1.25$ ,  $P = 0.21$ ,  $pr^2 = 0.007$ , Impact Factor  $\beta = -0.02$ ,  $t(201) = 0.33$ ,  $P = 0.74$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.00$ , Year of publication  $\beta = -0.50$ ,  $t(201) = -7.60$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.22$ , Prior experience  $\beta = 0.00$ ,  $t(201) = 0.08$ ,  $P = 0.93$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.00$  **Model 2** was formed by adding independent variables, learning through intra-network:  $\beta = -0.05$ ,  $t(199) = -0.76$ ,  $P = 0.45$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.000$ , intra-network knowledge transfer  $\beta = 0.49$ ,  $t(199) = 0.49$ ,  $P < 0.001$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.23$ ).

In **Model 3**, we added moderator variable ties strength:  $\beta = -0.2$ ,  $t(198) = -0.41$ ,  $P = 0.68$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.00$ . In **Model 4**, we included Country as the moderator:  $\beta = -0.10$ ,  $t(197) = -1.79$ ,  $P = 0.07$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.07$ , For the next stage, **Model 5**, we added the interaction of intra-transfer capability and tie strength:  $\beta = -0.22$ ,  $t(196) = -3.02$ ,  $P = 0.003$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.04$ , and for final stage, we added the interaction of intra-transfer capability and country, **Model 6**,  $\beta = -0.57$ ,  $t(195) = -3.07$ ,  $P = 0.002$ ,  $Pr^2 = 0.05$  At level one (see model), Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported; learning through internal resources was negatively related to inter-network diffusion performance, and intra-knowledge transfer capability was a partial mediator of this relationship. At level two, the analysis showed that the spreading of knowledge happened through higher numbers of a group's unrepeated ties, and Hypothesis 3 was supported. According to the model 6, higher diffusion of innovation was observed with first authors located in China compared to US. To compare ties strength between authors located in China and US, we demonstrated the differences of ties strength moderation effect between intra-network knowledge transfer and diffusion performance shown in table 3.

Table 3: The comparison between US and China, the moderation effect of ties strength between intra-network transfer and diffusion of innovation

Variable	China	US
Intra-Transfer Capability	8.92***	6.201***
Group Ties Strength	2.04	0.52
Interaction	-3.21***	-1.03*
Sample size	106	100

\*\*\* Significant at the level of  $P < 0.01$ , Two-tailed test. Beta unstandardized coefficients are reported in this table.

\* Significant at the level of  $P < 0.1$ .

As for the country effect, we observed that information with an article with more unrepeated ties had been transferred more through first authors in Chinese universities rather than in the case of US universities, although for both countries, resources flowed better with more unrepeated ties, hypothesis 4 was supported.

## 6. Conclusion and Limitations

In this study, we have demonstrated that intra-network information resources from the exploitative learning process or learning through internal knowledge transformation have a negative impact on the diffusion of innovation. However, the model used here ignores explorative or inter-network learning resources. We have shown that less use of the intra-network information would lead that ego to have better intra-performance, which is related to many variables according to different theories and frameworks, not all of which were explained in this study. In this study, we tested influences of a group's intra-knowledge transfer capability as a mediator and ties strength as a moderator of knowledge sharing through an inter-alliance network. Diffusion of innovation occurs more among Chinese authors who live in China than among Chinese authors living in the US. One of the limitations of this study is that the quantitative data used lacks information about the authors' demographic data such as age and gender. Future studies could focus more on the inter-organizational learning process and resources. In addition, further research could be focused on testing the moderation effect of diverse authors' perspectives in a group and see if the relationship between intra-network learning and intra-network knowledge transfer capability is moderated by the diversity between the authors' perspectives or research areas. Follow-up studies could consider cross-sectional data, more countries, more research areas (the macro level), and different network structures (see Figure 1).

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# Lifestyle of Generations in the Sub-urban

## Case study: Major Cities in Northeastern Thailand\*

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### Abstract

This research aims to study the lifestyle of generations in the suburban area of the Northeast, Thailand. The qualitative methodology was employed, and the units of analysis were individual and community level. Key informants consisted of two groups included 1) ten community leaders and 2) twelve of suburban people who commuted between a suburban and urban area in different generations. These people were selected based on inclusion criteria's which were 1) they had full-time employment and 2) they worked in different occupations. In-depth interviews were the tool and conducted with the key informants, as well as the participatory and non-participatory observations. Data were collected from April to October 2018. Data analysis was conducted by content analysis, and data were presented by a descriptive method. The results found that the generations were related to economic capitals accumulation, Gen B and Gen X accumulated more economic capitals than other generations (Gen y and Gen z). Generations also had the relationship to taste, Gen Y and Gen Z showed a clear pattern of consumption, especially in technological utilization. Generations were related to community participation; the people in the Gen B and Gen X were more interested in community activities than Gen Y and Gen Z.

**Keywords:** Lifestyle, Generations, Taste, Sub-urban Community

### 1. Introduction

Thailand once was the agrarian society in which the majority of the population lived in rural areas of the country. When urbanization has introduced to the country, contexts of the rural area had been decreasing and replaced by urbanism. Currently, 55 percent of the area with urbanization has covered the country (World Urbanization Prospect, 2015). Infrastructure development has launched to suburban areas in which people so that people living there have been able to access developing facilities such as transportation. Quality of life of the suburban people has been improving with modernity. They have more options to spend their livings in accordance with the capitalism trend (Bourdieu, 1984), and adopt some urban cultures to use at suburban communities. Moreover, the development of urban society has caused suburban people in various generations to access to a variety of job position, so it results in patterns of livings of the intergeneration suburban people are different. The intergeneration suburban people apply different methods to

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accumulate living capitals, and it results in different patterns of consumption among them. Therefore, it is interesting to find out what lifestyle patterns that the intergeneration suburban people apply to sustain their life. The implication of research contributes knowledge on the transitions of livelihoods among the suburban people based on urbanization.

## 2. Research Objectives

To investigate lifestyle patterns among the intergeneration people in the suburban community of Northeastern Thailand.

## 3. Literature Reviews

This paper implements three concepts in the study including

1) **Life Style**; Weber (1947) described that lifestyle is a pattern associated with the social status of an individual based on the Consumption of Goods, which reflected an individual's daily life. Bourdieu (1984) suggested that lifestyle is a reflection of individuals, regarding consumption, relaxation, and exercise, in accordance with social relationships. Therefore, lifestyle is implying to an individual's social class. In addition, Plummer (1974) described lifestyle based on 3 aspects of living behavior; activities, interests, and opinions. The lifestyle of individuals, then, represents individuals and environment surrounded (Bowen and Markens, 2000). This paper implements a concept of lifestyle in the study to identify the lifestyle patterns of the intergeneration people in a suburban community. Lifestyles of the intergeneration suburban people have been changing gradually due to the introduction of urbanization. Therefore, lifestyles shall respond to activities, tastes, and consumption of the intergeneration suburban people.

2) **Capital** (Bourdieu, 1984) is a concept implemented in the study to explain the dynamics of the capital that shape the lifestyles of the individual. Bourdieu suggested that capital is a consumption pattern representing practices of suburban people. Capital exists in the suburban community consists of 1) economic capital, 2) social capital, 3) cultural capital, and 4) symbolic capital. This paper implemented a concept of capital to explore what capital owned by suburban people, and how do they apply capitals to improve quality of life. In addition, capital is adopted as an analytical framework to explore lifestyles of the intergeneration suburban people in the suburban community.

3) **Generation** is a concept used to investigate individuals from various generations. The concept is adopted to study social phenomena with regard to behavior, lifestyle, or thoughts which clearly contribute consumption patterns of the individual. Therefore, it is important to understand the behaviors of individuals aged in different generations because the thoughts and behaviors of individuals are shaped by social contexts in each period of time. As same as the lifestyle of individuals in a suburban community, lifestyles of individuals from different generations are presented based on periods of time. When urbanization invaded the suburban community, everything has changed. People in the community adjust themselves to spend their livings along with urbanization. This study categorizes generations of suburban people into 4 generations, including Generation B, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z (Lancasen, & Stillman, 2005).

## 4. Research Methodology

This paper investigated the lifestyle patterns of the intergeneration people in the suburban community of Northeastern Thailand. Qualitative research, particularly the phenomenological approach, was implemented in research methodology. Unit of analysis was at the individual level and community level. Key informants at individual level included suburban people from different generations who aged between 18-59 years old, 12 persons in total. Inclusion criteria to select key informants included 1) they engaged in a full-time work, 2) they engaged in different jobs in Khon Kaen city, 3) they lived in suburban area of Khon Kaen city and distance between workplaces and residences shall not exceed 20 Kilometers, and 4) they had been living in suburban areas at least

1 year. Key informants at the community level included community leaders and related community development persons, 10 persons in total, included educational affair officer, community development officer, agricultural promotion officer, a teacher at the sub-district school, health officer, retired government officer, village headman, local intelligent person, senior villager, and health volunteer officer. Those key informants provided information about community context and dynamics of the community. The research area was a suburban community named "Dong Dok Mai Community" (fictitious name), where located in Khon Kaen city. An in-depth interview with interview guideline was used as a research tool and together with participatory observation and non-participatory observation. Data collection was carried out from April to October 2018. Data were analyzed by the content analysis method and presented data by the descriptive method.

## 5. Research Results

Research results cover topics including dynamics of the suburban community on socio-economic and culture and lifestyle pattern of the intergeneration people as following details.

### 1) Dynamics of the Suburban Community on Socio-Economic and Culture

"Dong Dok Mai " is a suburban community with 1,559 population and 395 households, most of the population in the community are the Generation X people. The community located approximately 18 Kilometers away from Khon Kaen city. The community has a large natural pond which people in communication use as a major water source for consumption. Quality of soil is a sandy loam which is suitable for agricultural activities such as rice farming, corn farming, etc. Most agricultural products are used for household consumption. In addition, some households engage in self-employed occupations within the community. Someone works for farmers in the community to harvest agricultural products, while someone work service jobs such as housekeeping, laundry, or waiter/waitress in Khon Kaen city. People in the community also work as productive workers in the industrial sector, and some engage in government jobs such as a teacher, public health officer, or nurse. Due to a variety of occupations that people engage in, this shows that people in the community have focused on education for a while so that they are able to conduct a prestige job such as government job. Moreover, some households have owned businesses in the community such as grocery shop, construction equipment shop, mobile top-up shop, agricultural equipment shop, etc. This causes different economic and social opportunities among suburban households. However, although suburban people increasingly work in Khon Kaen city and they take some urban lifestyles to use in the community, relationships among households or neighbors are still based on the kinship system. Local traditions and cultures are based on Buddhist practices and northeastern culture called "Heed Sib Song Kong Sin See." It can be seen that households in the suburban community have lived with a mixed way of life between urban culture and local culture, which represent through occupations engaged. For instance, some households engaged in agricultural activity along with other occupations in the urban area.

There were 4 generations of suburban people exist in the community, included the generation B people, the generation X people, the generation Y people, and the generation Z people. Patterns of lifestyle and activity among people from different generations were described as the following details.

**The Generation B People;** was born during 1946-1964, when society still relied on agriculture-based activities, and there were few convenient facilities and technologies used for livings. Therefore, the ways of life of people were simple. Characteristics of generation B people were interesting. They were patience, diligence, hardworking, and achieved from hard working. Someone regularly worked for government agencies, while some maintained a top-level position in private organizations. Someone conducted their own businesses in the community. Their occupations were quite secured, and they were respected by colleagues. These people always participated in religious activities and local traditional activities. They also participated in social activities with neighbors, and they had a good relationship with the community.

**The Generation X People;** was born during 1965-1980 when technologies were introduced in their life. However, they were not familiar with the technology. These people worked in Khon Kaen city or other urban areas. They

worked for private agencies and government agencies as a regular employee, while someone was witnessed as workers in a manufacturing factory. They participated in religious activities and local traditional activities as same as the generation B people, but they did not get much acceptances from agencies and communities due to their limited experiences.

**The Generation Y People;** was born during 1981-2000. They were a new generation of people in the suburban community. They were born in a period that technologies were widely spread in daily life, so they were eligible for any technological usage. They had additional income from the usage of modern technology, but they lacked relationships with surrounded persons, including household members. This people group had just started working life. Most of them worked for private agencies and government agencies. Due to the ability of technology usage, they always had a chance to help colleagues about technological issues. They often changed workplaces when they had worked for a while. They chose to participate in only major religious activities and community events.

**The Generation Z People;** was born since 2001. Most of them were at the studying age. They did not have a regular job, but they earned money as a freelancer. They were able to earn incomes along with studying through the online platform because they were eligible to technology. In addition, this group of people earned income through trading activity. Someone opened the second-handed shop at the flea market in Khon Kaen downtown. Regarding community activity, they were not interested in religious activities or social activities. They only participated in activities that they preferred.

Therefore, it can be seen that people in each generation have different working conditions and community activities. Technologies are applied to their life with different purposes.

## **2) Lifestyle Patterns of the Intergeneration People in the Suburban Community**

This paper focuses on the investigation of lifestyle patterns of the intergeneration people in the northeastern suburban community. The analysis implements Bourdieu's capital accumulation (1984) and Plummer's lifestyle plan (1974) in the investigation of capital accumulation of people in each generation.

### **2.1 Capital Accumulation of the Suburban People by Generations**

People in each generation have a different method of capital accumulation. In this part, capital accumulation is analyzed by occupations, the period of work, and the period of living in a suburban community. Details of capital accumulation are presenting as below (table 1)

**The Generation B People;** accumulated various types of capital. They accumulated economic capital, including lands, houses, large businesses, agricultural equipment such as harvesting machine and truck, savings, and any convenient facilities. The generation B people accumulated cultural capital, including education, warmth households, and occupational skills (both agricultural activity and non- agricultural activity). Their social capitals were accumulated through social networks at the community level and sub-district level, while symbolic capitals were accumulated through the reputation of the family line who was the first group settled in the community. Their family lines were widely recognized in the community so that they had maintained social positions and cultural positions.

**The Generation X People** were considered as a majority group in the community. They had stability in work life, so they earned a lot of income. They had good economic status as well as the social status which represented their good livings. Economic capitals of them were accumulated through houses, small businesses in community, vehicles, savings, and convenient facilities. In term of cultural capital, they had a good education and had good support from households. They believed that education contributed to households to improve the socio-economic position and occupational skills. They also had social networks at kinship level and community level, so they always received helps from neighbors in the community; In addition, they sometimes were assigned to set up

community activities with their social positions, which was considered as a symbolic capital of the generation X people.

**The Generation Y People;** this people group had just started working, so they could not accumulate much capital. They accumulated capitals including economic capital; vehicles and some convenient facilities. They had not yet accumulated much money. They had good occupational skills, especially technology, which was a good cultural capital of them. They had a social network at kinship level that provided any assistance to them. In addition, symbolic capital they had was in the form of recognition as the descendants of someone in the previous generation who lived in the community.

**The Generation Z People;** this group was not selected as key informants of the study because they were aged below 18 years old, and all of them were still studying. They did not have their own capitals. Therefore, it was noted that parents provided economic support to them. They did not have any occupational skills, but they were eligible for technology, which was a good cultural capital of them. There was no social capital presented. They, however, sometimes used their technical skills to help others in the community. This considered as symbolic capital, but it was unclear.

**Table 1 Patterns of Capital Accumulation of the Suburban People**

Capital	Gen B	Gen X	Gen Y	Gen Z
<b>Economic</b>	Lands, houses, large business, occupational equipment, savings, and convenient stuff.	Houses, a small business in community, vehicles, small savings, and convenient stuff.	Vehicles, having some convenient kinds of stuff, and small savings.	No own economic capital, and relied on parents to support economically.
<b>Cultural</b>	Higher education degree, good occupational skills (both agricultural activity and non-agricultural activity)	Higher education degree, good occupational skills	Having occupational knowledge and skills, and having the ability to technology	Having ability in technology
<b>Social</b>	Having a social network at the community level and sub-district level.	Having a social network at kinship level and community level.	Having a social network at kinship level.	No social network.
<b>Symbolic</b>	The reputation of the family was well-known in the community and maintained a socio-cultural position in the community.	Be assigned to help community activities and maintained a social position in the community	Recognized as children of someone in the community.	Ability on technology contributed to the reputation of them, and they were able to help others in the community.

In conclusion, people of different generations have different methods of capital accumulation. The generation B people and the generation X people are the elderly groups with long working experience. Therefore, they are able to accumulate much economic capital. Besides a form of money, their economic capitals are presented in forms of lands, houses, and occupational tools. They have accessed social networks, and have been recognized by neighbors in the community so that they have had relationships with others. This finding confirmed Pholphirul and Rukumnuaykit (2008). Regarding the generation Y people and the generation Z people, these groups of people have just started working, so they are not able to accumulate economic capital and other capital forms. They only maintain some capitals.

## 2.2 Lifestyle Patterns of the Suburban People by Generations

According to the previous sections, different capital accumulations among suburban people in different generations have caused multiple lifestyles. The capitals they access or owned contributed lifestyle patterns of suburban people through activities, interests, opinions, and tastes (Plummer, 1974) as following details (table 2)

**The Generation B People;** we're interested in engaging in activities with household members. For instance, on the weekend, they spent time together to do activities such as having lunch, go shopping, or do housekeeping tasks. It was a way to build a good relationship within the household. Someone spent free time to manage work loaded. This people group had life goals which aimed to get successful in life and work. They always gave opinions on issues about society, such as economics or politics. They always participated in community events such as local traditional events, religious events, and being membership in community groups. This finding confirmed Gray et al. (2016) who revealed that people in Generation B would closely adhere to local traditions, as an interview with the person who attended in the traditional event below.

*"..I take my children to do merit every on the Buddhist days. I want my children realizing on our culture. Sometimes they participate in community activities.." [Ms. Nonglak (fictitious name), aged 55 years old, interviewed in May 2018]*

In addition, this people group had different tastes and lifestyles from the latter generation. They loved to dress silk clothes when they participated in social activities. They always found simple ingredients which easily presented in the community to cook foods. However, they bought foods, especially the ready-to-eat meals sometimes if they did not have much time, but they would buy only simple foods. They loved to spend their life peacefully, in accordance with rural tradition.

Although suburban people in this generation had to work and live in the city or urban area, they still attached closely to rural life. They always participated in the community's traditional activities as a rural lifestyle.

**The Generation X People** mostly focused on work, and they wanted to succeed in careers. Gray et al. (2016) suggested that the strength of people in this generation is participation in community issues. They always gave opinions on social issues and political issues. Any opinions they gave mostly were for advantages of people in the community. They always spent free time with household members to do activities such as shopping, traveling, or doing community activity; being the volunteer at some community events. They also member in community groups such as the weaving group which presented 15 members. They made extra income from cotton weaving and selling outfits to those outside community.

This group of people had a taste for living in a mixed-lifestyle between urban lifestyle and rural lifestyle. They loved to get the brand-named dress as urban people. They had sufficient income and savings, so they were able to spend their lives in many ways as they wished. Moreover, they were born during a transitional society from the old-style society to modern society, so they had opportunities to take new cultures to sue in their daily livings. However, they still participated in local community activities, but their decisions of participation were based on rationality. They got the dress in urban style when they go to work or do business in the city, and they had a traditional silk dress when they participated in community activities. In addition, they did not cook the foods themselves. They preferred to eat instant foods due to time constraints. They also loved having meals at restaurants in the city. It was noted that they had a simple life, and they were friendly to everyone in the community.

**The Generation Y People** were interested in jobs that generated high income, entertainment, favorite foods, and technology, but they did not pay attention to community activities. They had specific opinions only what they were interested in, such as technology, education, and their own future. Main activities they focused on consist of tourism, relaxation, sports, technology, entertainment, shopping. These activities represented urban lifestyles they received from urban areas, and they would participate in various kinds of activity as they wished (Chamrathirong and Rucharoenphonphanit, 2007) The results suggested that the technological capabilities of them contributed the

online activities including transactions via mobile phones, receiving news from social media, searching for work information on internet, online shopping, entertainment, leisure, and sports. These activities caused people to use mobile phone at all times, so they preferred buying an expensive phone with a modern function that responded to their lifestyles.

Regarding the lifestyle of the generation Y people, they presented their living styles in accordance with modern taste and modern consumption clearly. Due to modern innovation, they were able to do a lot of activities in society. They invested in fashion clothes. They preferred eating instant foods rather than cooking by themselves do not cook food themselves due to limitations about time and convenience.

**The Generation Y People** had just started working. Their thoughts and activities, therefore, were based on modernity. They earned income from regular jobs and enjoyed working multiple tasks at the same time in order to earn a higher income. On the weekend, they went to the city for shopping some luxurious stuff such as clothes, shoes, cosmetics, wallet, etc. these consumption patterns caused them to lack financial management. They had debt from the credit card expenses. This finding confirmed Pholphirul and Rukumnuaykit (2008) who found that people in modern society have more symbolic consumption patterns, such as eating and shopping, which represent their lifestyles with luxurious items while they are having the limit on income. This finding is supported by an interview below.

*"... I like shopping. My salary is not enough to cover all expenses, but I bought only the necessary things. I go to work in downtown, so I need to buy a car. In each month, half of my salary is spent on car's expense, and I have to buy clothes, shoes, and 50-60 Baht spent on coffee every day. If my salary cannot cover all expenses, I will use the credit card to pay. When the salary is paid, I then pay for the credit card expenses. Some months I have got a serious financial problem, I have to ask my parents for a help .... "[Ms. Orn-uma (fictitious name), aged 28 years old, interviewed in July 2018]*

**The Generation Z People** were interested in technology, entertainment, media, and fashion, but they did not attend community activities. They had their own opinions and wanted to achieve in the future. Most activities they engaged in were about technology because they were eligible to use benefits from technology to get incomes. Although someone was still studying, they were able to make their own ways to get income along with studying, for example, online shopping, or opening a small shop at the flea market. These incomes caused a better economic status of them and households. However, it was to say that they still made income in order to meet their personal needs

People in generation Z had a taste of fashion similar to people in generation Y, but they did not have sufficient income to meet their needs such as mobile phone, brand-named clothes, etc. as an interview below.

*"... I am a fashionista. I love to dress in accordance with the fashion trend. However, I do want to use the parent's money. I then make online business. The profits from my online shop are used for my clothes and cosmetics..." [Ms. Inthira (fictitious name), aged 18 years old, interviewed in October 2018]*

In addition, their tastes of food were still limited because they could not earn much income to respond to their needs, but they had several ways to represent symbolic consumption clearly. Regarding their livings, they still could not have their own lifestyles as they wished because they were at the studying age.

Although people in generation Z are not the targeted informants in this paper, it is clear that the suburban people in generation Z have their own ways to create incomes by themselves along with studying. They do not have to ask parents for help financially, and they still make their own lives as they wish.

**Table 2 Lifestyle Patterns of the Suburban People by Generations**

	<b>Gen B</b>	<b>Gen X</b>	<b>Gen Y</b>	<b>Gen Z</b>
<b>Lifestyle Patterns</b>				
<i>Activities</i>	Leisure activity, community activity, religious activity, and traditional local activity.	Taking rest, community activity.	Travelling, leisure, sport, technology, entertainment, and shopping.	Technology and specific skills.
<i>Interests</i>	Family (spending time with family), house (house works), workplace (job tasks), and achieving life goals	Work, achieving life goals, and community issues.	The generated income jobs, entertainment, foods, media. Do not interest in the community.	Technology, entertainment, media, fashion. Do not interest in the community.
<i>Opinions</i>	Giving an opinion on the social issue, business, economic issue, and political issue.	Giving an opinion on the social issue, business, economic issue, and political issue.	Giving opinions only on what they are interested in, such as education, future, and technology.	Giving opinions only on what they are interested in such a future.
<b>Tastes</b>				
<i>Dressing</i>	Getting dress appropriately. Wearing silk-clothes when they participated in community activity, and do not follow the fashion trend.	Preferring brand named clothes, especially clothes for working.	Following the fashion trend. Having many expenses on clothes.	Similar to the Gen Y people, but do not have much income.
<i>Foods</i>	Simple foods easy to find in the community. Having meals at restaurants some times, and do not take symbolic consumption.	Ready-To-Eat foods. Do not cook at home, and having meals at restaurants always.	Ready-To-Eat foods. Do not cook at home, and having meals at restaurants. Performing symbolic consumption.	Performing symbolic consumption, even though they have less income.
<i>Lifestyles</i>	A simple life without luxurious consumption. Keeping a low profile.	Opening themselves in the community. Having a convenient lifestyle.	Opening themselves in the community about their interests. Having a convenient lifestyle.	Lifestyle is unclear because they are at the studying age.

## 6. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper titled Patterns of Livings among the Intergeneration People: A Case Study of the Suburban Community in Northeastern Thailand aims to explore lifestyles of the suburban people in different generations who have worked in Khon Kaen city (urban area) and stayed with households at the suburban community. The results reveal that people in different generations access or own different capitals. The generation B people and the generation X people accumulate economic capitals higher than other generations because they have worked for a long time. Therefore, they are able to accumulate more economic capital than other generations. Moreover, the capitals they owned contribute different lifestyle patterns among them. Lifestyle patterns of people in different generations are considered through activities, interests, opinions, and taste. People in generation Y and people in generation Z have a clear lifestyle pattern especially in the use of technology which is a result of the capitalism and modernity, while people in generation B and people in generation X are more interested in community activities than people in generation Y and people in generation Z.

People in various generations in the suburban community have lifestyle patterns which represent a mix of traditional rural lifestyle and urban lifestyle. Although they work and spend their living in the city, they still return home to live with households in the suburban area. They are still maintaining traditional life along with urban culture. However, they apply some urban cultures to use in the suburban community. It can be seen from the consumption behaviors of suburban people who prefer to buy ready-to-eat food rather than cooking at home. However, they still continue to participate in community activities, as well. In conclusion, these lifestyle patterns have become a perfect combination which represents the identity of a suburban community nowadays.

Therefore, this paper demonstrates lifestyle patterns of people in different generations, which reflect the context of the suburban community very well. The output of this paper contributes new knowledge about lifestyle patterns under contexts of a modern suburban community in northeastern Thailand. Therefore, relevant agencies should consider policy and implementation plan about people in various generations about the appropriate living plan of livings. It is important to create awareness of modern lifestyle to people in the suburban community, especially those who face with insufficient income in order to live appropriately in the capitalist society.

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# Shifting Livelihood From Agriculture to Mining: Is it the Right Decision?

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## Abstract

This study aims to study a number of factors that influence the process of labor moving from the agricultural sector to the mining sector due to the rampant development of the mining industry carried out by multi-national companies in Morowali District, Central Sulawesi Province. This research is descriptive, and data was collected through in-depth interviews with key informants and other respondents. The results of the study indicate that the factors of education, skills, and work experience have no effect on the process of hiring workers in mining companies. This is due to mining companies prioritizing local workers to avoid competition from outside workers. The company requires simply that the young people have finished high school or above. The mechanism of higher monthly wages, as well as the health insurance offered by mining companies compared to the uncertain revenue obtained from agricultural activities, are the main causes of young farmers leaving the agricultural sector, although most of them are placed in very low positions. The lack of government attention to increasing agricultural production has caused agriculture only to be an option for workers who are already unproductive or cannot pass education in senior high school. This condition causes most people to be very dependent on the activities of mining companies which can stop at any time and threaten the sustainability of livelihoods and income of the community. Were the company and the government to provide capacity building programs, future prospects may well be improved. To maintain the existence of the agricultural sector and maintain income inequality, it is necessary for the government and mining companies to establish agricultural mechanization programs in order to overcome the scarcity of labour. In order for the mining company to have a loyal and progressive workforce, inhouse education programs could be offered to the local employees who show promise and drive.

**Keywords:** Shifting, Livelihood, Mining, Workforce, Agriculture

## I. Introduction

Indonesia is a fortune country because it has a wealth of natural resources is quite large. Since the decentralization was implemented by the Indonesian government in the last decade, the provincial and district government have more powerful authority to use and manage on their own region. They believe that the use of natural resources is blessed by the God, and it can be used for community welfare. As in various regions in Indonesia, at least the last decade, the eastern region of Indonesia has experienced an explosion of mining permits, especially for nickel. The provincial government of Central Sulawesi was recorded to have issued 534 exploration permits in 2014. Morowali regency issued 264 mining licenses; it is the district with the largest number of mining permits in Central Sulawesi

Province (antaranews.com, 2014). The proliferation of mining business licenses has had an impact on the recruitment of workers in Morowali regency. This study discusses several factors that have driven the shift in livelihoods, especially with the youth of the village from the agricultural to the mining sector.

This research took place in Morowali District, Central Sulawesi Province, in Geresu Village, where almost all the young farmers moved to work from the agricultural sector to become employees of mining companies. However, it seems that the welfare of farmers does not increase significantly. Research carried out in Liberia, Ghana, Sierra Leone, The Democratic Republic of Congo and Malawi which looking at the linkages between subsistence farming and artisanal mining revealed that the development of mining has failed to become an effective solution to the region's mounting rural poverty problem (Hilson, 2011; Okoh and Hilson, 2011). On the other hand, Maconachie (2011), based on his researched in Sierra Leone, suggests that high current income obtained from mining should be used to uplift farming livelihood.

Morowali Regency has great economic potential in the mining sector. This situation has caused many residents, especially in Geresu Village, to seek new livelihood opportunities from the mining sector and leave the agricultural sector. This is especially so for residents who are young and have a high school education (required by mining companies). This situation is supported by several factors, including a lack of mastery of market information and agricultural science and technology, low added value of agricultural products, and the waiting period required for agricultural products. Finance is one of the most powerful constraints faced by rural households in accessing the livelihood options in general (Tripathy, 2009). Moreover, Cartie and Burge (2011) from their research in Sierra Leone argued that small-scale agriculture and artisanal gold mining are not livelihood alternative but are instead livelihood complement.

Since 2006 the Morowali Regency government has authorized PT Bintang Delapan Mineral (PT BDM) to explore natural resources in the Sub-district of Bahodopi. The power of attorney was accompanied by the issuance of the Decree of the Regent Number 540/0297 / DISTAMBEN / 2007. Furthermore, PT. BDM then collaborated with investors from China and established PT. IMIP (Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park). They then under the banner of PT. IMIP was established by four nickel processing plants under the auspices of PT. SMI (Sulawesi Mining Investment), PT. GCNS (Indonesian Guang Ching Nickel and Stainless Steel Industry), PT. ITSS (Indonesia Tsingsang Stainless Steel), PT. IRNC (Indonesia Ruipu Nickel and Chrome Alloy).

With the presence of the investment of the multi-national companies, the biggest challenge for the Indonesian government, both central and regional, is how to prove that the natural resource wealth possessed is truly a blessing for people's welfare and not a curse. It is widely believed that mining will provide a necessary road to poverty alleviation, but this is not so. According to research conducted by Sudarlan et al. (2015) about the impact of mining sector to poverty and income inequality in 30 provinces of Indonesia found that the mining sector has no effect on poverty alleviation in Indonesia. The operation of the mining industry in Indonesia is still far from the expectation of sustainable. To be considered as sustainable, a mining community needs to adhere to the principles of ecological sustainability, economic vitality, and social equity. These principles apply over a long time span, covering both the life of the mine and post-mining closure. The legacy left by a mine to the community after its closure is emerging as a significant aspect of its planning. Progress towards sustainability is made when the value is added to a community with respect to these principles by the mining operation during its life cycle. Sustainability does not require that nature be left untouched. It does require, however, that each generation recognise its obligation for stewardship of natural resources and ecosystem on behalf of the future generation. The transformed society must use natural resources in ways that will assure sustainable benefits for future generations.

We first provide a brief description of the methodology we used in gathering data, follow with discussion of the recruitment of local people to work in mining companies, particularly young people from Geresu village on which the paper is based, and then elaborate factors that make massive shifting of people's livelihood from farms to mining sector. In the final section, we draw some conclusions about livelihood movement.

## II. Methodology

This research is descriptive research; data is collected through in-depth interviews with key informants such as parents who have lived the longest, some former village heads and youth leaders, who are considered to have mastered information about the process of moving workers from the agricultural sector to the mining industry sector in the village of Geresia (snowball sampling). Determination of respondents was then carried out by considering the direct and indirect relationships in a social relations network within the Geresia Village community and outside Geresia Village. Other data was collected from various sources, both government and private institutions related to mining activities in Morowali District.

## III. Labour Recruitment

In carrying out recruitment, the PT. IMIP sets five priorities, which are characterized by concentric rings. Ring 1 is the closest area of the company's operations center, namely workers from Bahodopi Subdistrict, ring 2 laborers from Morowali Regency, ring 3 Central Sulawesi, ring 4 Sulawesi island and ring 5 are workers from various provinces in Indonesia. Geresia Village is one of the villages in Bungku Timur District, Morowali Regency, within  $\pm$  34 km from PT IMIP. Thus Geresia Village is included in the ring 2 region prioritizing recruitment of workers. For most of the people in Geresia village and generally in Morowali district, there is a perception that being employed by the mining industry is a lifetime opportunity to prosper and to be prestige. Employment in the mining industry has raised such high expectations amongst local people, resulting in neglect of the more sustainable sources of living, such as agriculture, smallscale plantations, and industry. Many households try to go beyond mere consumption and livelihood by responding to new opportunities. Lag of adequate on-farm opportunity, inadequate farm output, land constraints, risk of farming, and lack of marketing linkages for agricultural products are important factors, which partly drive poor households to seek non-farm employment. In most developing countries, the drawback in the operation of the dual sector approach is reflected in the adverse terms of trade, and realizing the problem of unemployment and livelihood in rural areas (Tripathy, 2009).

To give a positive impression and satisfy local residents, the mining companies located in Morowali Regency, recruit low-qualified local employees. A person who graduated from high school can apply for work, no skills and experience are needed. According to the results of interviews with informants, who stated that:

"... The average level of education of youth in this village is high school and to work in a mining companies only need at least high school education. This low educational requirement is the background for young people to tend to work in factories. "

The same thing was expressed by other informants that

"... The level of education of youth from year to year is quite good, not only completing high school education but there are those who graduate to tertiary level, but to work in the mining companies level of education required is only high school."

"... To work in a factory is not seen from the skills possessed because what is needed is only the willingness to work."

The same thing was also expressed by other informants that

"... No skills are needed, because most young people who work in this factory do not have skills related to mining, most of them can immediately apply for jobs after graduating from high school."

As a result, 48 (57%) out of 84 village youth who graduated from high school in Geresia village during the study have worked in the mines (but in the lower positions such as security or cleaners), while the rest were waiting for a recruitment schedule from the company. The development of industrialization that has reached the village today is a factor that encourages young farmers to change their livelihood orientation from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector (Tarigan 2004; Amelia 2005; Herlina, 2002).

Wiriosudarmo (2001) stated that some mining companies practice a discriminative approach, which gives local people priority to fill vacancies. This strategy is used because if they carried out a competitive process, it would create disappointment among the local people, who are mostly underqualified. There is a general perception that cultural value can be traded for financial compensation. This perception has been created for practical purposes and used as a method of ad hoc problem resolution. Using this approach for structural problem resolution may lead to a great potential conflict in the future.

Armed with low education combined with minimal skills and experience, most of the local workforce in Morowali, particularly from Geresu village, are placed in a lowly position such as cleaner, security or in similar level of work. At first, there is an apparent increase in people's income due to working for the mining company. The presence of mining activity is usually followed by the increasing price of goods, so the increasing cost of living as well as living standards will also increase. In the event that the people are employed in a very low position with little prospect of advancement, it will hamper their effort to gain and sustain prosperity. The increased income will only happen temporary and will more-than-likely become a dream as the cost of living rises. Today, many young people who work in mining have bought motorbikes on instalment to be able to arrive at the office on time. Many housewives have started to consider to buy a washing machine, refrigerator and buying other luxury goods. These concerns also generally relate to people who are not employed in the mining industry, and particularly to those who are unemployed and on fixed-income government benefits (Hunter et al., 2015).

Changes or transformations take place not only intentional factors, but also because of factors beyond deliberation. Social transformation can occur intentionally and indeed desired by the community (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). Moreover, the transformation that occurs in the village is a city-village process, namely a change in the structure of an agrarian area towards a non-agrarian structure. The process of transforming the region is certainly not only physical but also socio-economic and cultural changes in the rural population which include the structure of production, livelihoods, customs, and lifestyle (Puji Hardati, 2011).

It should be acknowledged that the workforce numbers in Morowali cannot meet the amount and qualifications of workers which the companies need to run their business, so workforce recruitment from outside Morowali is also taking place. However, when hundreds of foreign workers from China arrived, locals have raised complaints regarding wages and positions. Many people consider that they are able to do work done by foreign workers, and demand equal pay with foreign workers. Protests began to emerge from covert to open conflicts between companies and local communities. This hot issue has even been used by contestants in the presidential election which will be held in April 2019.

Specific pre-employment training is a practical option to raise the level of capability of a local workforce to compete with the incoming workforce. Good collaboration between companies and local government has the potential to increase the capability of the local workforce, both through regular training and upgrading education. Programmes designed to increase skill and knowledge of the local workforce need to be designed carefully to create labour that suits the needs of the companies. Local workforce with good capability will provide opportunities for locals to be able to occupy a range of well-paid positions which provides the employees with an incentive structure.

Late commencement of community relationship in the production stage is one of the sources of dissatisfaction amongst members of the local community. Adverse impacts of exploration activity, especially impacts on socio-cultural life, are rarely addressed. There two common reasons for not addressing socio-cultural impacts during exploration. The first reason is the absence of a formal procedure for addressing environmental impacts during exploration since formal environmental impact assessment is conducted prior to the construction stage. Secondly, most mining companies tend to be reluctant to become involved in community affairs before the production stage. Ignorance of the importance of community relationship in the earlier stages of mining activity is evidenced by the physical infrastructure and facilities built during the construction stage. Road, tailing pipelines, water channels,

airstrips, and even fences are constructed in such a manner that those facilities completely close off any possible access to and from the surrounding community. This kind of isolation would make communication with the local community impossible. Members of the local community in the rural areas in Indonesia mostly live under structural hardship and scarcity. They need certainty and security more than abundance in life. Any opportunity is expected to give security and certainty of life. When the first team of geologists steps in their area to establish exploration camp, the people have already thought of having an opportunity to improve their lives. Whenever exploration fails to fulfil the living expectations of the community, the fundamentals of a good relationship in the future are difficult if not possible to establish.

#### IV. Land Resource

Effective control over productive resources, especially land, by the rural poor is crucial to their capacity to construct a rural livelihood and overcome poverty. This is because in many agrarian settings, a significant portion of the income of the rural poor still comes from farming, despite far-reaching livelihood diversification processes that occurred in different places over time. Hence, lack of access to land is strongly related to poverty and inequality (Lodhy et al., 2006).

Geresa Village has an area of about 1,700 ha with different types of land; the location of government / public facilities covers an area of 2.5 ha, settlement of 20 hectares, community plantations 180 hectares and still sleeping area of 35 Ha, other use areas 1,463.5 hectares. Based on these data, it can be seen that Geresa village has extensive land resources, but an extensive area has not been utilized optimally, because there is yet area which has not idle land that has not been utilized by the community. This also fits with one informant's statement that:

*"... The agricultural land in this village is still vast and quite fertile, but they assume that working in the factory is a monthly salary, whereas if it works in the agricultural sector, the results are unknown and also seasonal."*

Statements regarding land resources are more clearly shared by several other informants *"... agricultural land in the village is very adequate because there are still many sleeping fields that have not been managed due to the weak government control over increasing the human resources of farmers which impacts on the ignorance of agricultural production so that young people prefer to work in companies."*

*"... Agricultural land is quite adequate, but because government programs are considered lacking in the agricultural sector, the guarantee of welfare is lacking, and young people prefer to work in factories. "*

There are very few cases of land grabbing in Morowali Regency; it has happened but not by mining companies, but contractors working in mining companies. This happens because the location of the company's activities is within the forest area. However, in the long run, the waste from mining processing activities still has the potential to threaten the environment around the mine through water and air pollution. This continues to be a discussion between the government, mining companies, and environmental activists.

From the village data and based on the informant's narrative, it shows that the condition of the land in Geresa Village is still very adequate and still extensive. In addition, there are lands which were initially cultivated by the community but are currently not actively producing. This suggests that the aspirations of farm youth are being transformed not by the limitation of arable land but by their own dreams of prosperity, fuelled by the myth of mining. Support for increasing agricultural production is very low, for example in terms of the supply of seeds, processing technology, fertilization to post-harvest handling and marketing. Because these are deficiencies product of farmers is low, and the prices received by farmers also cannot support daily life compared to the income of someone who works for the mining company.

Another obstacle that is difficulty in developing the agricultural sector in Morowali Regency, especially in Geresa village is the lack of labor. If you take a case in this village, currently there are only old people who are not productive, women and those who have not passed senior high school levels who work in the agricultural sector. It seems that the introduction of the use of agricultural mechanization is urgently needed to substitute labor scarcity

increasingly. This is in line with Cartier and Burge (2011) who stated that young people are willing to embark in agricultural activities, if it ensures that sustainable income and working conditions are improved through 'modernization and mechanisation.

## V. Income

Wages are rewards received by workers given by companies stated in money based on work agreements. Working in a company has a clear income, where the wages are divided into two, namely direct wages and indirect wages. Direct wages, namely wages regularly received by workers or employees who are routinely received every month in the form of basic salary and allowances where the amount of basic salary and benefits provided by the company can be seen in Table 1 below.

**Table 1. Types and Amounts of Wages in Mine Employees**

No.	Wage Types	Amount (Rp)	Remarks
1.	Basic Salary	2.224.000	Accepted equally for all workers from Geresia who work in the PT IMIP industrial area
2.	Fixed allowance		Accepted equally for all workers who work in industrial estates
	a. Housing	200.000	
	b. Family	10.000 (no children); 150.000 (one children); 200.000 (two children) and 300.000 (three children)	For those who are married and the age limit for children given benefits is a maximum of 18 years.
3.	Non-permanent allowance		Given based on attendance. if lost, permits outside the rules will be deducted. 1-2 absentee days will be deducted 100,000 per day, 3 days to above are not given attendance incentives. The level is defined as the length of work.
	a. Attendance incentive	260.000 (level 1-4), 390.000 (level 5), 960.000 (level 6), 1.430.000 (level 7-9)	
	b. Night incentive	500.000 (12 jam), 200.000 (8 jam)	12 hours for those who work only 2 shifts and 8 hours for those who work 3 shifts.
4.	Other income		
	a. Production incentive	300.000	Only employees who work in the production department.
	b. Bonus	200.000	Given every month if you have never made a mistake while working.
	c. Overtime	15.000 per hour	

Source: Primary data processed

In addition, the company is also providing insurance for all their labour, which cover health and accident. In terms of providing health and accident insurance for farmers, there are currently many insurance companies in Indonesia, both privately and government-run, even some international insurance companies such as prudential life and AIA have opened branches to the provincial capitals and districts. The government or mining company only needs to be the guarantor for the provision of insurance. For rural communities like in Geresia, insurance is still a luxury and has not been their priority, but that does not mean they do not want to participate, some insurance benefits have been understood by most people.

Table 1 above explains the list of salaries received by workers or employees until the end of 2017. In 2018 there was a salary increase that even more affected the aspirational of youth to move out of agriculture and become company employees. The types of wages that increase are base salaries from 2,224,000 to 2,403,000, housing allowances from 200,000 to 400,000 and family allowances (K / 0 to K / 3) each increase by 50,000. By contrast,

indirect wages are those that are not received regularly every month, are received or given/utilized when things happen that are urgent such as health and workplace accidents. Indirect wages can take in the form of employment insurance and health insurance. All types and forms of wages attract young people in Geresia Village to work in the company. This accords with interviews with informants who stated that:

*"... Yes, because high wages work in factories while the results of working as farmers are very lacking."*  
The same thing was also conveyed by other informants that:

*"... Yes, the work income in the factory is more than the income in the agricultural sector."*

Basically, the youth in Geresia Village prefer certainty income. This is on the hand of agriculture has unclear results; on the other hand, an uncertain market. Take, for example, the production of copra. Because, young people who farm in the village of Geresia generally help parents process copra, with a period of three months with fluctuating market prices, in 2017 copra prices was Rp. 7000 per kg. On average, the coconut plantation reaches 2 hectares, and if it is processed into copra, the results can reach 800 kg of copra. So in one harvest (usually every three to four months), the proceeds of copra production can be as high as Rp. 5,600,000. The results are then shared with the owner of the garden. So, every month, people can only receive more or less Rp. 1.000.000 from the processing of coconut to become copra.

The presence of nickel processing companies in Bahodopi Subdistrict provides a special attraction for young farmers when compared to working to help family's copra processing with a small wage, compared to working in the company the total salary earned per month can reach Rp. 4,500,000. This indicates that youth in Geresia Village prefer job security and income. Based on the wage level obtained, so that makes the community, especially young people, to make a transformation to meet their needs and improve their standard of living.

This accords with the statement from an informant that:

*"... Because the condition of the people at this time has not been able to fully rely on life to agricultural products and only wages in factories that are considered capable of meeting the needs of a decent life"*.

Utomo (2014) argues that, income is the biggest factor in the discharge of labour from the agricultural sector, because the agricultural sector cannot guarantee the certainty of wages to the workforce. Economic motivation is the dominant factor in the release of labor from the agricultural sector towards the non-agricultural sector.

Geresia farming is dominated by small scale farmers or traditional farmers – corn, casava, coconut and cocoa and lastly some farmers try to cultivate pepper and patchauli. However, the lack of government makes most farmers face difficulty to increase productivity or try a new commodities which they regard have high economic value such as pepper and patchauli. Colman and Young (1989) argued that the decision of whether or not to adopt a new technology will depend on its technical attributes and economic potential, the characteristics of the farmer (in terms of age, education, and experience) and whether there are constraints on purchasing power, access to credit and information or poor communication links with product and inputs markets. Furthermore, they asserted that farmers make their production decisions with imperfect knowledge of the outcome of these decisions. Specifically, they operate under uncertainty regarding yields and prices. The analysis of markets with risk and uncertainty calls for more complex models, and these may yield very different results.

As land is still available in Geresia and Morowali in general, it is important to establish either an programme in small scale farm business or a coherent plan for land use into the future. Such a plan would have to include extensive community consultation *or* a coherent plan for land use into the future. Such a plan would have to include extensive community consultation.

This may prevent mining companies from being forced to accept local workforce who do not have enough skill and knowledge to work in a mining company.

Taufik (2015) in his research in Routa, a place close to Morowali where a big multi-national mining company operated nickel mining found, it must be acknowledged that in the beginning most of the people wanted to work in a mining company, it was based on the decline in the yield of cocoa which had become the main crop of the community affected by disease. Nevertheless, with the assistance and attention of the mining company which involved local university staff, local non-governmental organization, and local government, the community slowly working on new crops, most notably pepper. The success of pepper production has made most local people in Routa reluctant to work in the mine. They have demonstrated that what they obtained from planting pepper is far greater than the results they can get from mining.

## VI. Conclusion

The perception that cultural value can be traded for financial compensation used as a method of *ad hoc* problem resolution should be followed with more permanent approach which provide opportunities to local workforce to be able to occupy better positions in the mining industry, so local people can enjoy the changing of lifestyle as the impact of the presence of the mining industry.

In order to anticipate income inequality between those who work in mining and those who do not, and taking account of as well as the post-mining era, it is necessary to establish programmes to increase productivity and income for those who work outside mining, particularly in the agricultural sector through mechanisation or strengthen the small-scale agricultural industry.

Communications between the mining company and the community must be transparent and effective; citizens should be encouraged to share in decisions that directly affect their futures; this will help mining companies avoid risks to the sustainability of both their own operations and the community; mine development must be perceived to bring a net benefit to the community (it is no longer enough to simply mitigate impacts). To achieve this, community diversification must be part of mine planning, development, operation, and post-closure.

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# Globalisation and Consolidation of Dependency and Underdevelopment in Africa

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## Abstract

Globalisation is a process which transformed the world into a single political economy. Africa is one of the continents that is sharply affected by globalisation. This paper examined the impacts of globalisation in consolidating Africa's economic and political dependency and underdevelopment. The problem is globalisation comes up with many opportunities, especially for developing countries, but, Africa failed to utilize the opportunities. The paper is a conceptual paper which used secondary sources of data for analysis and interpretations. The work discovered that Africa found itself more caged in a circle of dependency and underdevelopment despite all the trade negotiations, open opportunities, and technological transfer. Thus, the paper suggested that Africa cannot exist in isolation especially in this wave of globalisation, but there is a need for an internal restructuring to accommodate diversities and complexities of external forces and balance them with internal advantages for local industrialisation, genuine regional integration, and intensive trade development.

**Keywords:** Africa, Dependency, Economy, Globalisation, Politics, Underdevelopment

## Introduction

Globalisation is a process and a force that is transforming the world into a single universal political and economic system across the globe in the most rapid speed ever witness in the history of mankind. Globalisation is the main force that is dominating the world today, especially the economic globe threatening to reduce the relevance of nation-states and national borders. It is perceived as a means that brings posterity to many parts of the world and misery to other regions (Asongu, 2012). Africa remains perpetuated in a crisis of politics and underdevelopment even in the global era where its counterparts in Asia and Latin America have progressed positively (Konings &

Meilik, 2002:128). The African crises of economic underdevelopment and political instability has been that of increasing dependence on external aids and socioeconomic crises which manifested in the 1980s making the region the least developed and the most dependent on external aids economically and politically (Onimode, 1988:1). The crisis of Africa has been identified as a tragedy which started in the 1970s resulting from the historical perspective of the political economy of the old and new African relationship with the external world (Arrighi, 2002).

Although globalisation has contributed to the development and progress of many continents, it has not done so for the African continent. Indeed, Africa has been worsened by globalisation owing to its marginalisation in consideration of its share of global trade (Daouas, 2001). Africa has been so poor and marginalised, and of the main factors is globalisation (Hagen, 2002). In the 1980s, African economies and politics were perceived as dislocated, and the international financial institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescribed adjustment such as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) to make Africa benefit from globalisation but the adjustments failed woefully, and therefore other explanations are resorted to such as geography, politics, and environment (Mkandawire, 2005). Globalisation has been identified to have posed a serious economic and political challenge to Africa because of the domination that it faced from other continents (African Union 2002). As a result of the recognised challenges of globalisation to Africa, this work seeks to discuss the challenges and how they consolidate Africa's dependency and underdevelopment to awaken the conscience of the continent to take the needful steps for development.

### **Methodology**

This paper is a conceptual paper which used secondary source for data collection. This is because of the nature of the topic, which is so wide and diverse, and it is highly sophisticated, making it difficult for data collection using primary sources. Indeed, for clarity of analysis and discussion, it will be practically impossible to study a topic of this nature using the primary source in a wider place like Africa. Thus, secondary data was collected, including textbooks, journals, reports from organisations and agencies, and internet sources. The data obtained were discussed using thematic analytic interpretations such as tables, figures, and charts where necessary.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The work adopted the theory of Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory to explain the research context and its findings.

#### *Origin of the Theory*

The Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory emerged in the 1950s from a programme organised under the supervision of the President of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UNCLA) Raul Prebisch. The aim of the programme is to examine why the development of industrialised countries did not lead to the development of Third World Countries. The pre-World War period inspired this thinking by the works of Hilferding, Bukharin, Lenin, and Luxemburg. The study by Prebisch discovered that economic theories and policies from the Western developed world did not help the poorer countries out of their economic problems (Ferraro, 1996). The programme sought to proffer a lasting solution to economic backwardness of the underdeveloped countries because:

"Poor countries exported primary commodities to rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poor countries" (Prebisch cited in Ferraro, 1996).

Prebisch solution was unequivocal, which suggested that poor countries should embark on programmes on import substitution to stop importing finished products from the rich countries. The poor countries can still sell their primary products, but they don't need to buy from the rich countries, which will boost their foreign reserves and

domestic earnings. The policy was made very difficult to follow because of three major factors. Smaller internal markets of the poor countries cannot be as competitive as that of the richer ones. The second factor is lack of political will from the ruling class in the poor countries, and the last factor was the extent to which the poor countries had control of their raw materials at home (Ferraro, 1996). The theory came to be perceived as a clearer explanation of the perceived poverty, dependency, and backwardness of the poor countries of the world. Other scholars from the Latin America (Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Dos Santos, and Emmanuel Wallerstein) joined in the debate in the mid and late 1950s and African scholars (Samir Amin, Walter Rodney, Bade Onimode and Claude Ake) also subscribed to the theory and built on it in the 1960s. This was the genesis of the theory within the limelight of global intellectual discourse.

### *Basic Assumptions of the Theory*

The theory has no unified assumptions because the proponents of the theory have a different perception of the situation and the solutions. For instance, Baran (1957) stresses that monopoly capitalism was the cause of backwardness in both developed and underdeveloped countries since monopoly capitalism made its expansion impossible in the developed countries and repatriation of surplus profits from investment by the developed countries in the poor countries made the poor countries unable to get enough for investment. He concluded that capitalism started the engine of growth, but now, socialism should do the job better. Frank (1979) believed that capitalism causes underdevelopment and dependency of the Third World Countries. He noted that:

It is capitalism, both world and national, which produced  
Underdevelopment in the past and which still generates  
Underdevelopment in the Present” (Frank, 1979:2).

Frank (1978) identified that there is a centre-satellite relationship between the capitalist countries and the underdeveloped world. He suggested that the economic dependence of the satellite economy is the answer or total delink from an economic relationship with the centre by the periphery. Wallerstein (1974) argued that the world system involves capitalism and the world economy, which are two sides of the same coin (Brewer, 2001). Wallerstein (mentioned that the capitalist world system is divided into three tiers of state: the core, the semi-periphery, and the periphery. The core is the capitalist countries, and the periphery is the poor economically and technologically backward countries with the semi-periphery being some middle-level countries that stabilise the system to avoid revolt from the periphery against the core (Wallerstein, 1974). Amin (1974), on the other hand, perceives that unequal specialisation at world scale led to the unequal accumulation of wealth at a global scale. The advanced technological countries or the capitalist states specialised in technology, which gave them edge in terms of investment, capital accumulation, and profit. The poor countries lack technology leaving them as primary exporters of raw materials only, which situates them in a disadvantageous position of trade and economic relationship. Amin (1974) concludes that the only way out of this problem for developing countries is to industrialised in terms of import substitution and delink from the capitalist chain of exploitation.

It is argued that development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin and that it is the long-standing relationship between Africa and Europe that led to underdevelopment of the former by the latter (Rodney, 1972). Furthermore, imperialism has been the major cause of dependency of Africa through capitalist domination of an asymmetrical trade which culminated in the present predicaments of Africa in the present era of globalisation (Onimode, 1983) and the emergence of imperialism, capitalism and foreign investment in strategic sectors of the African economy created underdevelopment and dependency in the African political economy (Ake, 1981). The theory has four basic assumptions going by the above different submissions of the leading proponents of the theory as follows:

1. Underdevelopment emanated out of failure to utilize the resources of the poor countries for their benefit;
2. The poor countries are dependent on the capitalist world because they were coercively forced into the relationship and that made them unable to compete;

3. The alternative means advanced by the theorist is the full used of domestic resources by the poor countries for domestic economic development and
4. The diversion and exploitation of resources from the poor countries occurred dominantly and constantly because of the collaboration with the local elite.

#### *Criticisms of the Theory*

The Underdevelopment Dependency Theory met with criticisms from within and outside the Latin American and African context for some reasons. Firstly, the theory was criticised for its low level of policy implications. The solutions preferred by the theory seemed impracticable, and it failed. Many poor countries attempted, but the forces of globalisation overwhelmingly compelled them to change. Secondly, the theorists are over-ambitious in their pragmatism concerning how the Third World Countries can approach development issues and economic problems. Furthermore, the theory totally neglected the beneficial aspect of the relationship between the poor countries and the capitalist ones in the relationship (Brewer, 2001:179).

#### *Applicability within the Context of the Work*

The theory is concise and precise explanations and interpretations of the subject matter of study. It is assumed by the theory that Africa was underdeveloped and made dependent on capitalist countries because of the unequal economic and political relationship that took place from the era of imperialism to globalisation. The imperialism and globalisation themselves are part of the globalisation process that started hundreds or even thousands of years ago, as examined in the next section. Thus, it is applicable here in this study since it is attempting to identify and analyse why the present globalisation process still maintains and consolidates the relationship in its status quo of keeping Africa poor, underdeveloped, dependent and backward in all ramifications. Indeed, the study is a continuation of the analysis of the theorist here since they recognised the problems from the perspective of global relationship which later became more pronounced, more consolidated and more formidable in the present era.

### **Literature Review**

In this section, some vital issues and perspectives that are relevant to globalisation are critically and succinctly discussed and analysed including the conceptual interpretations of the term globalisation, the genesis, agents of globalisation and globalisation and African states.

#### *Conceptualisation of Globalisation*

The term globalisation is a contested term which has no single meaning or conception. It is simply many things to many people, and it is perceived differently depending on the sentiments that one is viewing it. However, it has a close call or meaning that one cannot deviate from irrespective of his background. Globalisation is the internationalisation of trade and greater interconnections leading to expansion and explosion of the world economy (Hoogvelt, 2001:69). Globalisation is an integration of the world economies and its interconnections in economic interdependency (Thernborn, 2006). In other views, globalisation is identified as the emergence of the new global economic order in which transnationalism has become more pronounced with the establishment of a uniform global financial system through international financial institutions, free movement of multinational corporations across the globe and the promotion of the politics of regional integration (Gilpin, 2001). In another opinion, globalisation is a policy, an ideology, a process, and a strategy (Heywood, 2011:34). It is the emergence of a multi-complex web of interdependencies and interconnectivity politically and economically at a global scale never witnessed in the history of the world (Heywood, 2011:35).

Globalisation is a force that has brought so much good for the fortunate countries and lots of controversies for the unfortunate countries. It is a process of opening up to international trade for economic cooperation and global development (Stiglitz, 2002:4). Globalisation is a concept that is used to refer to infer economic and political transformations across the society in the contemporary world owing to the unavoidable outcome of the

domineering ambitions of a global market economy and transnational corporations (Amoore, 2002:4). Globalisation is the most important change in human history, which is known as transnationalism or a process that interconnect individuals, groups, economies, and politics across all geopolitical borders (Ritzer, 2011:2). Another controversial dimension of the term globalisation is the one presented by Open Society Justice Initiative (2013) which identified globalisation as the era of intensified CIA torture because of the post-September 11 in which perceived terrorists are tortured and detained across the globe by America and her allies extra-judicially. This is the security aspect of globalisation.

Globalisation is a very broad concept with respect to the complexity of the regions, cultures, actors and the processes itself which have its root in the past, has its manifestations and visibility today and implications in the future) (Sheffield, Korotayev & Grinin 2013. Globalisation is perceived as an undemocratic system where there are unfair trade arrangements, exploitation through patents right and profits repatriation and a massive movement and expansion of multinational corporations between the capitalist countries and developing countries (Stiglitz, 2006). Stiglitz (2006) further observed that the planet is under a potential risk of extinction in this unjust system is to democratise globalisation where fairness in trade negotiations and other political arrangements can be promoted. In a contrary view to the above to the Stiglitz (2006), Friedman (2002) perceived globalisation as an undeniable and a formidable process beyond the powers of nation-states which threatens to erase cultural barriers, obliterate trade borders, merge economies of the world under one system and transnationalised politics across the globe in an irreversible manner.

Globalisation is different from globalism. The former denotes multicomplex linkages and interconnections which transcends national borders in the current world system and a process in which events and political and economic decisions came to have effects globally on individuals, groups, corporations, and nation-states (Reich, 1998). The latter means globalism means a uniform and collective means of sharing values, ethics, and politics as global citizens (Keohane & Nye, 2000). It can be deduced that globalisation is a process and action, while globalism is more like an ideology.

By summing up all the above scholastic views, it can be concluded that globalisation is a process in which the world economy, politics, culture, societies, and individuals in a complex web of interconnectivity across the planet in the most rapid speed. It can also be viewed as an old fashion process and a current process which has future global implications. It is also an agreement that has trade negotiations and international political process that is uniformised and universalised. It is also a term that is contestable and is yet to be understood fully since we are still undergoing the process in the present age. It can also be concluded that it is an era and a process that submerged the African continent within an ambience of dependency and underdevelopment. There are arguments on the issue of whether globalisation has positive or negative effects, especially on developing economies. The Washington consensus (World Bank and IMF) agreed that globalisation is the engine for the economic growth of both the developed and developing countries. But, the radical scholars especially the IPEs (Amin, Frank, Baran) disagreed and perceived the globalisation process as a means of underdeveloping the developing economies and making them further dependent on the centre (Kandil, Shahbaz, Mahalik & Nguyen, 2017).

### *Genesis of Globalisation*

There are waves that heralded some activities which tantamount to the present stage of globalisation in the world. These waves are five as discussed and presented below, as identified by Thernborn (2006).

1. *The late 1700s to the early 1900s*: this is one of the early waves of globalisation. The roots of globalisation especially economic globalisation can be traced back to the Roman Empire in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and its many wars of conquest, the Han Dynasty in China and the Islamic Golden Age with Muslim traders and explorers. But the first wave of globalisation is more visible in a modern time during the 1700s up to the period of the First World War. During this wave, many nation-states' economies are linked to the global economy as suppliers of manufactured goods, raw materials, services, capital, and investments. It was the era of colonisation by European powers (Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy,

and others) of areas including Australia, Asia, India, South America, North America, the Pacific and Africa focusing on exporting their commodities or raw materials. The 1800s, therefore, witnessed the drastic explosion of international trade and globalisation of capital on a larger scale as compared to the previous period. The improvements in transport, technology, capital, and industrialisation made this explosion possible.

2. *1915 to 1947 Slowdown of Globalisation:* is the period that witnessed two World Wars in 1914 to 1945, which slowed down the process and the push for internationalisation and globalisation. The globe witnessed economic depression and political tensions. Taxes were increased, and many strong economies suffered setback, which declined the international transfer of capital, investment, and trade.
3. *1947 to 1970:* this is the era of reinforcement of globalisation and consolidation. After the end of the Second World War in 1944, the past retrogression started changing slowly. The era of global prosperity and trade development resurfaced. International organisations emerged such as United Nations Organisation (UNO), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), International Monetary Fund (IMF), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and many others. It is also the era of regional integration in which regionalism started as in the case of the European Union (EU). The period also witnessed Cold War ideological battle between the United States of America (USA) and her allies and the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and her allies or the ideological warfare between capitalism and communism or Western Europe and Eastern Europe.
4. *1970 to 2014:* this is the most recent wave of globalisation. It began in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s where tariffs were dismantled, economic reforms and adjustments were introduced, the world economy deregulated, multinational corporations are moving freely across the globe without many difficulties, regional economic and political cooperation emanated such as Northern American Free Trade Association (NAFTA), Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South African Development Commission (SADC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and many others. It is also an era of global promotion of liberal democracy and democratisation. An era that witnessed the collapse of national boundaries and free movement of goods and services in the planet.
5. *2014 and Future Speculation:* this is the era of cynicism where despite the formidable consolidation of globalisation in the most rapid stage ever witnessed in the history of the globe, many are cynical that it might be coming to an end just the way any ideology or process is passing historically. This is because of the serious global financial crises, recessions, and uncertainties that took place in 1997, 2008-2009 and 2013-2014 as well as 2015 to 2018 recession and the global oil crisis. Free market economics associated with globalisation is blamed as the cause of the crises. As a result, there are calls for governments to regulate their economies and reduce the internationalisation of their economies to a certain level. The Brexit or British exit from EU is a case in this context and the declaration of the United States under President Trump to withdraw from many global trade agreements which he declared as harmful to the American economy. Recently in Africa, Nigeria on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2018 withdrew from signing a single trade agreement by African countries citing American reason for their justification.

#### *Agents of Globalisation*

The agents of globalisation are those agencies that are responsible for carrying out the agenda of globalisation internationally as supported by champions of turning the world into a global village. They are many as discussed below, as presented by Sule (2005).

1. *United Nations Organisation (UNO):* it was established after the end of the Second World War as a universal world government responsible for maintenance of international peace and security and promotion of co-operation among world nations. The UN soon appears to be a pawn in the hands of

world-dominant powers for the advancement of capitalist interests and suppression of any threat to these interests. For instance, while the US, USSR, and major European countries proliferated nuclear weapons for decades, developing countries were banned from the proliferation of such weapons through sanctions, threats, subversions, and manipulations.

2. *Multilateral Financial Institutions*: this includes World Bank, IMF, London and Paris clubs who are lenders and financiers of development projects and aids internationally. They lobby and sometimes even impose free trade, liberalisation, withdrawal of subsidy, harsh economic reforms on Third World Countries, especially Africa. This process enables the developed countries to have easy access to market, cheap labour, and raw materials which are essential for their industries.
3. *Multinational Corporations*: are companies that have their headquarters in developed countries of US, Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Italy and other developed industrialised countries but have the whole world as their area of operation such companies as Shell, Chevron, Texaco, Mobil, Toyota, Honda, Coca-cola, McDonald are Transnational Corporations that operate worldwide. They influenced economic and political policies in Africa, especially free trade and capital accumulation through repatriation of surplus value to their host countries. This procedure incorporated third world countries into the mainstream of global capitalism.
4. *Multilateral Economic Agencies*: this consists of General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), World Trade Organization (WTO), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) which purposely seek to consolidate and promote international trade and free movement of goods and services across national boundaries.
5. *Capitalist Countries*: globalisation is pushed and consolidated by world capitalist countries, particularly the US, Britain, and many European countries. They started the globalisation process by imperialising, colonising, and incorporating Africa countries into international capitalism, leading to what Nkrumah termed "Neocolonialism" (Nkrumah, 1965:1) a continuation of colonialism through other means. This robbed Africa of her economic independence and political freedom and consolidated dependence and backwardness.

#### *Africa and Globalisation*

Globalisation is the era that set the foundation for the integration of Africa into the world capitalist system. It began from the slave trade to imperialism and colonialism (Momoh & Soteolu, 2001). According to Underdevelopment Dependency Theory, Globalisation is a process that started with the internationalisation of capitalism which integrated the world economy into a single system of developed and underdeveloped countries. Thernborn (2006) in his waves of globalisation identified the first wave (1700s-1900s) as the period in which globalisation came into Africa with the African raw materials being exploited by the imperialists and colonialists for industrial Europe which led to asymmetrical political-economic relationship leading to the development of the industrialised countries and underdevelopment of the raw material producers.

It is imperative to note that globalisation came into Africa through three major processes; colonialism, the imperialism of trade and foreign investment. According to Ake (1981:53):

"The dialectics of global capitalism through imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism had completely altered and truncated the evolutionary destiny of Africa by creating classes, institutions, structures and processes that are subservient to global capitalism."

The penetration of the capitalist world into Africa during imperialism and colonialism succeeded in weaving the African continent into the cobweb complex of interdependency and underdevelopment in which the pre-arranged economic-political system favoured the developed industrialised colonial countries as against the underdevelopment colonised raw material exporting countries.

Imperialism of trade is the second process in which Africa found herself in the intricate complex of globalisation. Imperialism meant capitalist expansion. It means that European and North American and Japanese) capitalists were forced by the internal logic of their competitive system to seek abroad in less developed countries opportunities to control raw material supplies, to find markets and to find profitable fields of investment. Imperialism is essentially an economic phenomenon, and it does not necessarily lead to direct political control or colonisation (Rodney, 1976:163). Thus, the African strategic economic sectors, especially mining, agriculture, and other resources were dominated and externally control by the capitalist world leading to exploitation. Imperialism caused dependency and underdevelopment of Africa because:

“The controlled development of the African economy in the interest of the metropole, which went along with the expansion of colonial trade meant structural links and structural interdependence” (Ake, 1981: 36).

The nature and orientation of foreign (capitalist) investment in the African colonial economies undoubtedly created and facilitated the integration of these economies into the mainstream of global capitalism (Ake, 1981: 37). This is because:

“As western capital flowed into the economy, capitalism spread. And as Capitalism and capitalist-oriented institutions took root; the economy of the colony becomes more compatible with western economies and this aided integration. Foreign investment created linkages between the metropolitan and colonial economies. For example, while stimulating primary production in the colonial economies, it directed its forward linkages outwards to the Metropole” (Ake, 1981: 38).

Thus, Africa was effectively sub-merged in the current globalisation process through a long-standing relationship with the imperialist and capitalist countries in an unfavourable relationship of exploitation and dependency. It can be succinctly concluded here that globalisation is a process which created dependency and underdevelopment in Africa. This phenomenon has been supported by Ritzel Kohler and Mann (2017) using Tunisia as a case study where they postulated that the developing economies were integrated into the global world economy through trade and other international economic policies directed by the capitalist countries.

### **Discussions and Findings**

As rightly observed by Ake (1981), imperialism and colonialism are the most truncating phenomenon that submerged the African continent into the webs of globalisation. The major crisis of the African continent emanated in the 1970s and 1980s from the overdependence on metropolitan capitalism, and their suffering emerged from the spillover of the crises of industrialised countries. Thus, the main problem with Africa is that of underdevelopment. The root of these crises in Africa was a prelude of elementarily relationship exploitation, domestic class structures, external dependency, and distortions of the inherent neocolonial sociopolitical formations in Africa. In the global arena, there is a paradox of continental wealth and mass poverty in Africa. All these crises are directly linked with the merging of Africa in the globalisation process by the capitalist industrialised countries (Onimode, 1983).

Africa's dependency and underdevelopment were consolidated through international debt. This international debt problem has become such a crisis that many countries pay more money to the World Bank and the IMF, each year than they received in loans. The World Bank's own figure indicates that the IMF extracted the net US \$1 billion from Africa in 1997 and 1998, more than they loaned to the continent. Globally, poor countries owed lenders from private banks to the World Bank almost USD 2.5 trillion in 1998, up to the US \$150 billion from the previous year. But the debt owed to the World Bank and the IMF is the most difficult to deal with because unlike private lenders and government aid agencies, the World Bank and IMF refuse to cancel debt because these two institutions say that their bye-laws prohibit them from doing this. In addition, governments have special incentive to stay

current with their multilateral debts, since the IMF determines the creditworthiness of countries which usually requires adherence to economic policies it recommends, i.e., SAP in the 1980s (World Bank Report 2000).

While some progress has been made in achieving and maintaining debt sustainability in Africa over the past decade, the debt burdens which are primarily in the sub – Saharan African Region, are the result of a build-up of foreign debt in the 1970s and 1980s. During those decades, commodity prices were high. Thinking that the price fall in the 1970s and early 1980s will bring about positive effects on the economy, Africa, like other countries, was left with massive debt repayments that still exist in 2012. The current global economic downturn has the possibility of furthering the debt crisis in Africa by resulting in even lower remittances and exports (Economic Report on Africa 2012).

Africa's crippling debt load does little to advance social and economic progress. Instead of spending on things such as education and healthcare, money is diverted to debt repayments. It is estimated that almost 814 billion per year is spent on debt repayment in Africa, while many people in the continent are forced to live on less than \$2 per day. Despite these staggering figures, the creditors of Africa's debt obligations continue to insist on repayment (Economic Report on Africa 2012). Another area of consolidating Africa's dependency and underdevelopment is trade exchange. Africa export only 7% of the world export as of 2008. The volume of total African export is mainly unprocessed raw materials.

In addition, foreign aid subjected Africa to dependency. Foreign aid comes in cash or kind as humanitarian crises such as disaster, war, famine, diseases, human right activities, and development aid. Aid is transferred bilateral, which is government to government transfers, multilateral institutions such as the World Bank or UNICEF. This also includes debt relief and debt cancelation at times. There is also private donor aid by individuals and philanthropist.

In 2002, total gross foreign aid to all developing countries was \$76 billion. The West has spent \$450 billion on foreign aid to Africa over the past four decades and still has not managed to make poverty a history resulting from harmful conditionalities specifically attaching Africa's economy under the whims and caprices of the West in return. For instance, between 1970 and 1980, when aid flows to Africa were at their peak, poverty in Africa rose from 11% to 62%. A major proportion of aid from donor nations is tied, mandating that a receiving nation spend on products and expertise originating only from the donor country, law backed by strong firm interests requires food aid be spent on buying food at home, instead of where the hungry lives, and as a result, half of what is spent is used on transport. The World Bank and the IMF, as primary holders of developing countries debt, attached Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) conditionalities to loans which generally include the elimination of subsidies and the privatisation of state services. For example, the World Bank pressed poor countries to eliminate subsidies on fertilizer, even where many farmers cannot afford them at market prices (Food Aid Reform March 2013).

In their April 2002 Publication, Oxfam reveals that aid tied to trade liberalisation by the donor countries such as the European Union with the aim of achieving economic objective is becoming detrimental to developing countries for example, the EU subsidizes its agricultural sectors at the expense of Africa who must liberalise trade and agriculture to qualify for aid (Food Aid Reform March 2013).

A report by the World Bank in 2013 concludes that:

“While most economists accept that, in the long run, open economies fare better in aggregate than closed ones, many fear that open trade could harm the poor. African countries, for example, have realised significant improvements in trade liberalisation in recent decades, yet Africa remains the poorest continent in the world. It seems that the large gains expected from opening up

to international economic forces have been limited in Africa, especially for the poor”.

The above indicated that the so-called benefit of trade liberalisation and globalisation is not automatic across the globe and to some extent is harmful and exploitative in Africa, leading to impoverishment, dependency, and underdevelopment. Africa's trade summed up only to 3.5% of global exports and imports in 2011 as compared to 6% for developing Latin American countries and 32% for Asia. Yet, Africa remains poor with Sub-Saharan Africa the most hit having almost 50% of the population living below USD 1.25% a day. The large openness and its expected benefit in globalisation have not been realised by many countries in Africa, and thus, trade cannot reduce poverty or liberalisation of trade and border openness cannot likely make Africa better (Goff & Singh, 2013). It is observed by World Bank in 2015 that while the majority of world countries in other continents are becoming better off and economically prosperous, the African continent is becoming poorer in the era of globalisation despite all the benefits and opportunities available globally (Asongu, Efobi & Tchamyu, 2018).

In a conference organised by the African Union in 2002, they have arrived at a conclusion that globalisation is an inevitable process that Africa cannot isolate itself from but, it is very weak to compete in this new-fashioned global economic competition because of many factors including:

“Asymmetry in the distribution of power results in different perceptions and evaluation of the impact of globalisation. In the case of Africa, its position in the international system has been considerably weakened by the fact that it has been losing the race for economic development in general, and human development, to other regions. This poor performance by African countries accounts in parts for the political and social instability and the rise of authoritarian regimes that have characterised much of post-colonial Africa, further weakening the ability of African countries to deal effectively with globalisation” (African Union 2002).

In addition, the AU summit in 2002 agreed and concluded in unison that globalisation is a major force or a process that led to the economic marginalisation of Africa, dependency, and underdevelopment in the following words:

"Economically, globalisation, has, on the whole, reinforced the economic marginalisation of the African economies and their dependence for a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. This has, in turn, accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the ability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries. Economic and social stagnation has also triggered a substantial brain-drain from Africa, further weakening the ability of African countries to manage their economies efficiently and effectively" (African Union 2002).

It is also observed in the summit that, not only the economic aspect of Africa was truncated and marginalised by globalisation but also its culture.

“As a result of cultural domination from outside that goes with globalisation, African countries are rapidly losing their cultural identity and therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs. While the scientific and technological forces unleashed by globalisation have facilitated to some extent access by Africans to advanced technology and information, this has been at the expense of stultifying the

indigenous development of technology and distorting patterns of production in Africa, notably by utilising capital as against labour intensive method of production, which in turns increased unemployment and poverty (African Union 2002).

Culture impoverishment via globalisation is another source of poverty and economic underdevelopment in Africa. Culture impoverishment is yet another form of poverty inflicted on societies through the influence of globalisation. In Nigeria, western culture and values have so much infiltrated our society such that some of our rich cultural heritage has given way to alien ones. Precipitating this culture impoverishment is the giant technological height attained by the modern world in the area of communication. Examples are the proliferation of televisions and Western movies as well as the internet, all of which influenced the lifestyles and the way people think. Often times, immoral behaviors and attitudes were imbibed while the normative values become meaningless, preference for foreign fabric and designers wears by Africans is on the increase as these goods continue to flood the African markets without hindrance. Many manufacturers of local fabrics have run out of business because of this, causing a lot of unemployment (Nwagbara, 2001: 201).

Globalisation can be measured based on its effects on the economic and overall development that it brought. In the African context, such fate is yet to be realised. All the policies that were prepared to integrate Africa into the mainstream of the global economy failed because they have completely ignored the developmental needs of Africa. Despite all the reforms stipulated for Africa including the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and open trade policy, by 1990s, little or nothing had changed. Even the recent change in Africa's export indicates that no meaningful increase had occurred in the number of industries in which most African countries have a confirmed "comparative advantage." Indeed, the non-oil exports of Africa were now one-half of what they were a decade before (Nkandawire, 2005).

A comparison of Africa's economic performance in the specific period in which the last wave of globalisation and its most formidable process was said to have occurred disclosed that, the last two decades (the 1990s and 2000s) and the last period (2000 and above) show clearly that globalisation has not created a rate of growth in Africa better than those of the 1960s and 1970s. The per capita income was negative during the last two decades of globalisation. In the era of globalisation, not only Africa is affected negatively, other poor countries to are affected, but that of Africa is more pronounced most especially Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, globally, the poor countries subsided from a per capita GDP growth rate of 1.9% annually between 1960-1980 to a decline of 0.5% per year (1980-2000). Indeed, the poor performance of Africa and its domination and marginalisation by globalisation is now accepted universally. The only disagreements are on the causes of the failure. The BrettonWood Institutions blamed the African countries on failure to implement the adjustments provided accordingly. But, the other section, including the African countries and scholars believed that Africa was maladjusted and integrated deliberately into the globalisation process with a string of dependency and underdevelopment perpetually (Nkandawire, 2005).

The old and new political economy of Africa can explain the scenario of Africa's dependency and underdevelopment in the present globalisation era. For instance, the amalgamation and linking of the African economy and politics into the mainstream of global capitalism is a clear explanation of the distortion, truncation, alteration, and dislodgement of Africa's independent and indigenous growth, industrialisation and independence in the global economic and political competitiveness. After the successful process of integration, African newly states became a periphery of industrialised countries as observed by Wallerstein (1974) and other Underdevelopment/Dependency scholars. The African states have also come into limelight of serving the metropolitan bourgeoisie with luxury and extravagance leaving the agenda of development as a hoax and a misplaced priority (Ake, 1996) in which the past status quo of the domination and marginalisation of Africa continued unabated with the support of the African domestic bourgeoisie and it is in this situation that the African continent entered into the most formidable wave of globalisation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, disjointed, dislocated,

dependent and underdeveloped (Arrighi, 2002). The above view has also been presented by Hagen (2002) in his analysis.

The above analyses so far by different scholars on the effects of globalisation in consolidating dependency and underdevelopment of Africa in the present era of globalisation can be supported comfortably and academically by the discourses of the Underdevelopment/Dependency Theory (UDT). In the first instance, it should be noted that, the UDT scholars argued that Africa and the other developing countries were not naturally underdeveloped but rather incorporated within the exploitative system of globalisation through the antecedents of the historical vicissitudes of international capitalism, imperialism, colonialism and foreign investments which tantamount to the present unequal international division of political and economic relationship. The above analysts also pointed towards that directly with factual arguments and discussions showing that so-called Africa's partners in the West and America did not only underdeveloped the African continent and subjected it under dependency but also continued to prescribe maladjusted adjustments and open trade policies that further consolidated the dependency and underdevelopment which deepens the crisis of African political economy of development and underdevelopment.

### Conclusion and Recommendations

The work concludes that globalisation has not benefitted Africa positively and that the continent was weakened further by the global forces making it more dependent and underdeveloped in the process because of the situation that the continent found herself. The work also concludes that Africa cannot withdraw or disconnect herself from the present global world but, rather re-strategised to identify the means in which her counterparts in other parts of the world manipulate to secure the advantage and positive benefits of globalisation. In doing so, the paper recommends the following strategies for Africa to secure a better and positive outcome from the globalisation phenomenon:

1. Africa must look inward for indigenous policies and programmes of development designed purposely for Africa by Africans and avoid total acceptance of adjusted programmes by the West;
2. Africa needs to develop gradually her indigenous industries using local industries to minimised importation of finished products from the developed economies which will retain a large sum of money and investment within Africa;
3. Africa should engage her fellow counterparts in Asia, Eastern Europe and South America such as Russia, China, Malaysia, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Indonesia and other upcoming developing world for technology exchange in order to develop local industries;
4. Africa should pressurise the world particularly the international financial institutions, political institutions, and economic or trade organisations constantly for a better re-negotiation against the existing status quo;
5. Africa should target other alternative financial institutions for loan and aid such as Islamic Development Banks, Islamic Banks in Asia and Europe and other Islamic sources of bonds such as Sukuk, Takaful for developing local economies and
6. Africa must have the political will for the above to be implemented the youth successfully in African countries must wake up to elect patriotic and incorruptible leaders that can pursue such policies and programmes as against the present crops of leaders that seem as a sellout and compromising.

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# Determinants of Efficiency of Food and Beverage Companies: The Case of Vietnam in the Period of 2009 – 2018

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## Abstract

Based on data from 36 listed Vietnamese food and beverage companies in the period of 2009-2018, the authors aim at studying determinants of the efficiency of Vietnamese food and beverage industry. By using regression results and Hausman testing result, the authors found that debt-to-total asset ratio and tangible fixed asset ratio are negatively correlated to return on asset (ROA), while, inventory turnover has a positive impact. Accordingly, the growth rate and receivable turnover's have no impacts on ROA. From the empirical research findings, recommendations were proposed to improve the efficiency of firms in the food and beverage industry in transitional countries such as Vietnam.

**Keywords:** Efficiency, Food and Beverage Companies, Debt-to-Total Asset, Tangible Fixed Asset, Inventory Turnover, Return on Asset, Vietnam

## 1. Introduction

Efficiency is an important factor when running businesses due to the scarcity of resources, and it is important to conserve those resources while maintaining an acceptable level of output (Banton 2019). This is not only the concern of top managers, but also the concern of managers of other departments such as human resources, finance, or production. The problem of business performance is crucial for Vietnamese food and beverage industry. Top managers concern that what are determinants of business efficiency and the levels those factors are affecting overall efficiency. Understanding those factors will help top managers answer the question of how to improve overall business efficiency. Food and beverage are a crucial industry in the Vietnamese economy. The level of consumption for food and beverage accounted for more than one-third of total consumption in Vietnam (VPBank Securities Company 2014). The report also stated key drivers for the growth of the whole industries, such as the high GDP growth rate, growing disposable income, and steadily increasing the population. From the period of 2014 to 2018, the Vietnamese economy achieved the GDP growth rate of 6% to 7%, the highest growth rate in the latest 10-year period. Along with the impressive growth rate, Vietnamese disposable income is forecasted to increase 8% per year, and the population is expected to increase at 1% per year. Therefore, the food and beverage

industry is expected to be a potential industry and can achieve the growth rate up to 10% in the coming years. Vietnamese food and beverage industry are a fragment, with the dominance of large domestic companies such as Vinamilk, Sabeco, Masan and Tan Hiep Phat, and foreign corporations such as Coca Cola, and Pepsi (VPBank Securities Company 2014). Although the industry is forecasted to be growing, firms in this industry must pay attention to their overall efficiency, otherwise, they will face the risk of bankruptcy. The year 2009 witnessed significant changes in the global food and beverage industry. After the crisis in 2008, there was a fall in the Dow Jones F&B Index, but the index raised more than 20% from the beginning of 2009 (IMAP, Inc 2010). Despite the growth, the effect of crisis leads to tightening credit policy and reduction in the value of mergers and acquisition (IMAP, Inc 2010). IMAP report also stated that Asian countries were trying to improve the quality of these type of products by increasing their expenditure for agriculture in 2009 and also to stabilize the food price. The situation is not different in Vietnam. One year after the 2008 financial crisis, the Vietnamese stock market reached the lowest point in Feb 27th, 2009. Since then, the food and beverage industry has the strongest cash inflows, and achieved 47% in price growth rate in the period of 2009 - 2011 (FPT Securities Company 2015). FPT Securities Company (2015) also pointed out the significant growth rate of Vietnamese food and beverage industry and insignificant growth rates of other essential products industries, such as pharmaceutical or household goods in 2009. In the period 2009 – 2018, there are a lot of changes in Vietnamese food and beverage industry due to changes in the economy. Therefore, the authors tried to investigate the determinants of the efficiency of Vietnamese food and beverage companies in the period of 2009 – 2018.

## 2. Literature Review

### Capital structure

Capital structure plays an important role in business performance, and typically refers to the debt-to-total asset ratio or debt-to-equity ratio. Modigliani and Miller (1958) stated in researches about capital structure, as using debt will increase the value of enterprises, and increase business performance. However, according to the trade-off theories, using too much debt will result in the risk of bankruptcy, and will reduce the benefit of using debts. In general, many researches concluded that the debt ratio has a relationship with business performance. Velnampy and Niresh (2012) made a research about 241 listed companies in 20 business industries on Colombo Stock Exchange and pointed out that there is a significant negative relationship between debts to total funds and net profit (Velnampy. and Niresh 2012). Tung (2017) ran a research about Vietnamese Oil and Gas company and pointed out there is a significant relationship between debt-to-total asset ratio and return on asset. However, Batchimeg (2017) used short-term debt to total asset ratio and long-term debt to total asset ratio but did not mention the relationships between these debt ratios and returned on asset (Batchimeg 2017). According to agency theory, firms with lower efficiency tend to borrow more due to information asymmetry. Therefore, the capital structure is expected to have a negative relationship with firms efficiency.

The debt-to-total asset ratio is chosen as the measurement of capital structure. This variable is calculated by using total debt, including short-term debt and long-term debt, divided by total assets, then multiply by 100. The multiplication by 100 is for interpretation purpose.

$$D_{TA} = Debt - to - total\ asset\ ratio = \frac{Total\ debts}{Total\ Asset} * 100$$

### Tangible fixed assets

Tangible fixed assets representing firms' long term investment and also represents for firms' technical production ability. Therefore, firms with a large investment on the tangible fixed asset are expected to have higher efficiency. In fact, researches have opposite ideas about this point. Siminica et al. (2012) researched 40 Romanian listed companies on Bucharest stock exchange during Romanian economic upturn period of 2007 – 2008 and economic downturn period of 2009 – 2010 and stated negative impact of fixed asset ratio on return on asset. Tiberti et al. (2016) studied 11 thousand farms in Italy and argue that in terms of efficiency, the tangible asset ratio is negatively correlated to business efficiency (Tiberti, Stefani and Lombardi 2016). However, Tung (2017) proposed that there is no significant connection between efficiency and tangible fixed asset ratio. In general, the researcher expected

there is a significant relationship between tangible fixed asset and firms' efficiency. The relationship can be positive or negative.

Tangible fixed asset ratio is chosen to measure fixed asset factor. This variable is measured by net tangible fixed assets over the total asset, then multiply by 100. The multiplication by 100 is for interpretation purpose.

$$TANG\_FA = \text{Tangible fixed asset ratio} = \frac{\text{Net Tangible Fixed Asset}}{\text{Total Asset}} * 100$$

### Working capital management

Working capital management contains three components: receivables management, inventory management, and payables management. According to stewardship theory, management will act ethically to achieve firms performance. Therefore, in accordance with working capital management theories, to achieve the best performance, firms tend to increase the rate of receivable turnover, increase inventory turnover and decrease the payable turnover ratio.

The rate of receivable turnover is expected to have a significant positive relationship between firms efficiency. In some researches, instead of using the receivable turnover ratio, researchers use days of receivables instead, and an increase in receivable turnover ratio means a decrease in days of receivables. Tung (2017) included days of receivables in his research and pointed out the negative impact of days of receivables on ROA. Siminica, et al (2012) researched about Romanian companies showed positive changes in business efficiency when increasing turnovers of current assets, which contains receivables. Therefore, the researcher expects receivable turnover will have a positive impact on overall efficiency. The receivable turnover ratio is calculated by using net sales, divided by average net account receivables.

$$RT = \text{Receivable turnover} = \frac{\text{Net Sales}}{\text{Average Account Receivables}}$$

Inventory turnover representing firms ability on goods production and making sales orders. According to working capital management theories, higher inventory turnover will lead to better overall business efficiency. This claim agrees with the regression results of empirical researches. Siminica, et al (2012) claimed the positive relationship between business efficiency and current asset turnover, which contains both receivables turnover and inventory turnover. However, Demirhan and Anwar (2014) ran a research model on 140 non-financial firms in Turkey in the financial crisis in 2008, and found out that the relationship between business performance and inventory turnover ratio is insignificant. They also concluded that two factors affecting business performance in the financial distress period are liquidity and leverage. The researcher still believed that inventory turnover positively impacts business efficiency. The inventory turnover is calculated by using the cost of goods sold, divided by average inventory.

$$IT = \text{Inventory turnover} = \frac{\text{Cost of Goods sold}}{\text{Average Inventory}}$$

### Growth

Growth rate measure firms' ability to develop in the competitive market. Firms with better growth rate will generate more income and can accumulate capital to make a future investment. Therefore, the researcher expected a positive relationship between growth rate and overall business efficiency. In the research about Vietnamese oil and gas enterprises, Tung (2017) pointed out that growth rate is positively correlated to business efficiency. This idea agrees with other researchers. Salim and Yadav (2012) studied 237 Malaysian listed companies during 1995 – 2011, and pointed out growth rate has a positive correlation with business performance (Salim and Yadav 2012). Growth variable is calculated by taking the difference between this year net revenue (t) and last year revenue (t-1), then multiply by 100. The multiplication by 100 is for interpretation purpose.

$$RG = GRO_t = \frac{\text{Net Revenue in year } (t) - \text{Net Revenue in the year } (t - 1)}{\text{Net Revenue in year } (t - 1)} * 100$$

**Tab 1.** Formulas and expected correlations of the regression model's variables

No.	Variable	Meaning	Expected correlation with the dependent variable	Formula
1.	ROA	Return on asset		$ROA = \frac{Net\ Income}{Average\ Total\ Asset} * 100$
2.	TANG_FA	Tangible Fixed assets ratio	Both Positive and Negative	$Tang\_FA = \frac{Net\ Tangible\ Fixed\ Asset}{Total\ Asset} * 100$
3.	RG	Growth rate	Positive	$RG = \frac{Net\ Revenue\ in\ year\ (t) - Net\ Revenue\ in\ year\ (t - 1)}{Net\ Revenue\ in\ year\ (t - 1)} * 100$
4.	D_TA	Debt-to-total asset ratio	Negative	$D\_TA = \frac{Total\ debts}{Total\ Asset} * 100$
5.	RT	Receivables Turnover	Positive	$RT = \frac{Net\ Sales}{Average\ Account\ Receivables}$
6.	IT	Inventory turnover	Positive	$IT = \frac{Cost\ of\ Goods\ sold}{Average\ Inventory}$

### 3. Methodology and Analysis

#### 3.1 Data collection

Secondary data extracted from year-end financial statements of companies in the Vietnamese food and beverage industry in the 10-year period of 2009 – 2018. In terms of scope, the research covered data from 36 Vietnamese food and beverage companies listed on the Ho Chi Minh Stock Exchange and Hanoi Stock Exchange. Hence, 360 observations (36 companies \* 10 years) used for regression.

#### 3.2 Regression model

To examine the correlation between return on asset and its determinants, researchers run the following regression model. The input data is panel data.

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_n X_n + \varepsilon$$

In which:

Y: Dependent variable

$X_n$ : Independent variable

$\alpha$ : Intercept

$\beta_n$ : Coefficient

$\varepsilon$ : error terms.

First, the researcher will run a pooled model and random effect model using OLS method, then conduct Hausman test for fixed effect or random effect. The detailed regression equation is as follows:

$$ROA = \beta_1 + \beta_2 TANG\_FA + \beta_3 RG + \beta_4 D\_TA + \beta_5 LOG(RT) + \beta_6 LOG(IT) + \varepsilon$$

In which:

**Dependent variable:**

ROA: Net income over total assets

**Independent variable:**

TANG\_FA (Tangible fixed assets): Net tangible fixed assets over total assets

RG (Growth): Net revenue growth rate, year over year

D\_TA (Debt-to-total assets ratio): Total debts over total assets

RT (Receivable turnover): Net sales over average account receivables

IT (Inventory turnover): Cost of goods sold over average inventory

Because ROA and some independent variables are presented in percentage, for interpretation consistency, the researcher proposed LOG form for receivable turnover and inventory turnover. A table will be conducted to describe variables, and correlation matrix is conducted to predict multicollinearity between independent variables. After that, the researcher will run the regression model and perform Hausman test to choose the model's form. To determine multicollinearity, the researcher will run auxiliary regression models on suspected variables and will decide to drop the independent variable if R-square of the auxiliary regression model is larger than 70%. After that, the model will be tested for residual normality. The statistic significant level is 5%. Since the input data is panel data containing both cross-sectional effect and period effect, no testing on heteroscedasticity and serial correlation are required.

### 3.2.1 Descriptive Statistic

The following table shows the basic descriptive statistic in the regression model:

**Tab 2.** Descriptive statistics of regression variables

	<b>ROA</b>	<b>TANG_FA</b>	<b>RG</b>
<b>Mean</b>	11.46746	26.61106	14.64482
<b>Median</b>	10.06237	21.99269	9.022224
<b>Maximum</b>	72.19110	87.11291	408.4701
<b>Minimum</b>	-31.72369	2.381784	-62.36328
<b>Std. Dev.</b>	10.23076	17.93759	35.97471
<b>Skewness</b>	0.540725	1.326031	4.560028
<b>Kurtosis</b>	7.636341	4.445440	44.60904
<b>Jarque-Bera</b>	339.9779	136.8409	27217.31
<b>Probability</b>	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000
<b>Sum</b>	4128.284	9579.982	5272.134
<b>Sum Sq. Dev.</b>	37576.01	115510.8	464610.7
<b>Observations</b>	360	360	360
	<b>D_TA</b>	<b>RT</b>	<b>IT</b>
<b>Mean</b>	20.40073	202.3817	16.94434
<b>Median</b>	14.69051	25.38729	6.845311
<b>Maximum</b>	92.52794	14714.22	771.0786
<b>Minimum</b>	0.000000	1.664528	0.461547
<b>Std. Dev.</b>	20.31702	1278.467	64.60249
<b>Skewness</b>	0.833962	9.283325	8.161990
<b>Kurtosis</b>	2.746787	92.17366	77.45805
<b>Jarque-Bera</b>	42.69132	124449.9	87157.11
<b>Probability</b>	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000
<b>Sum</b>	7344.264	72857.42	6099.963
<b>Sum Sq. Dev.</b>	148188.5	5.87E+08	1498280.

<b>Observations</b>	360	360	360
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*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EViews software*

The data used for regression analysis is panel data, comprise of 360 observations. including the cross-sectional dimension of 36 companies and the period dimension of 10 years. Parameters calculated in the table, including mean, median, min value, max value, and standard deviation of each data variable. E-views software does not separate the period effect and the cross-sectional effect when calculating these parameters.

Descriptive statistics showed that the mean value of return on asset of Vietnamese food companies in the period of 2009 – 2018 is 11.47%, and this value is quite near the median of 10.06%. Return on asset ranges from -31.72% to 72.19%, with a standard deviation of 10.23%. Obviously, the range is very wide, and the fluctuation is large. This sign is reasonable as the time frame is long and covers different phases of the economy, as mentioned in previous chapters. The wide range of ROA can also be explained by differences between companies. The sample including very large, market dominant firms such as Vinamilk or Sabeco, and also smaller firms like Dabaco. In addition, in the period of 2009 – 2018, some companies suffered from a great loss, such as Hanoimilk, while some experience great income such as Vinamilk. Therefore, a large fluctuation is reasonable.

Tangible fixed assets parameter reflects firms' investment in tangible fixed assets over total assets to run the business in the long run. Fixed assets ratio has the mean of 26.61%, and the mean is far from the median value of 21.99%. The range of this indicator is also very wide, running from 2.38% to 87.11%, and large standard deviation of 17.93%. The wide range is caused by two factors. The first factor is the diversification of the core businesses of selected companies in the model. Selected data includes 36 companies in the food and beverage industry, and this sector can be divided into sub-sectors, such as beer, seafood and non-alcoholic beverage. Because each of these industries requires a different level of plant and machinery investment, the range of the fixed asset ratio is very wide, and the standard deviation is large. The second factor causing the wide range is differences in the business intention of companies. For example, Masan corporation is intending to get involved into new meat products market, so their level of fixed asset investment must be different from other companies, who do not intend to expand, such as Vinamilk, a very old corporation of dairy products in Vietnam.

The revenue growth indicator is the valuation of performance, whether the company is performing better or worse than last year business results. From the selected data, revenue growth has the mean value of 14.64%, very far from the median value of 9.02%. The range is extremely wide, ranging from – 62.36% to 408.47%. Although the period of 2009 – 2018 contains the recovery phase and the expansion phase of Vietnamese economy, there are companies marking profit and some lost. This also means that not every company experienced the same impact of economic changes, as well as changes in the sector.

The debt-to-total asset ratio has the mean value of 20.4%, ranging from 0% to 92.52%. The mean of the debt-to-asset ratio is quite far from the median of 14.69%. The wide range of debt-to-total asset ratios showed different choices of firms in financing activities. While some chose to used debt, interest-bearing sources, others rely on equity and short-term financing as payables and accruals. At some firms, the debt ratio is 0%. This does not mean they don't use any debt to finance their business, but because this rate is too small, the soft wares rounded and the figures became zero. Another noted point is that although the debt-to-total asset ratio has a quite same wide range as ROA, but its standard deviation is different. This data showed the diversified choices of firms when it comes to financing in the recovery and expansion phases of the economy.

The parameter receivables turnover is showing the negotiating power of the company in cash collection. This parameter mean is 202 times, and the mean is far from the median value of 25.38 times. The range of this parameter is very wide, from 1.66 times to 14714.22 times, which means that some companies make sales mainly on cash basis, while some are showing weaknesses in managing receivables, as the typical cash collection period for account receivables only ranges from 30 days to 90 days, equivalent to 4 times to 12 times of receivable turnover. The standard deviation is also large, at 1278.47 times. The large deviation between firms is slightly reduced as the

researchers used the average account receivables in the calculation to make it more conservative. The data could have varied more widely if the figures are calculated using ending account receivable only.

Similar to receivable turnover, inventory turnover indicator is showing firms power in terms of working capital management. Inventory turnover has ranged from 0.46 times to 771.07 times, with the mean value of 16.94 times and the median of 6.84 times. The variation of these indicators is caused by the time frame and difference in the core businesses of different firms. Some firms producing rice or agricultural products such as Binh Dinh Food Company may have low inventory turnover ratio, other firms such as Vinamilk, Sabeco or Halong Canned Foods produce products for final users and therefore have larger inventory turnover ratio.

To sum up, all variables, both the dependent variable and the independent variable have wide ranges. In addition, apart from return on asset, other indicators have a huge difference between the mean and the median value. Due to a large number of companies contained in the sample and long time frame, the huge fluctuation and the mean – median difference is acceptable. From the descriptive statistic result, the researcher expects regression results containing period effect and uniqueness of companies.

### 3.2.2 Correlation matrix

To see relationships between independent variables, the researchers conducted a correlation matrix. Below is the correlation matrix of the proposed independent variables of the mentioned model.

**Tab 3.** Regression variables correlation matrix

	<i>ROA</i>	<i>TANG FA</i>	<i>RG</i>	<i>D TA</i>	<i>LOG(RT)</i>	<i>LOG(IT)</i>
ROA	1					
TANG FA	-0.1782	1				
RG	0.1322	-0.0181	1			
D TA	-0.4701	0.2055	0.1467	1		
LOG(RT)	0.2154	0.0274	0.0787	-0.1524	1	
LOG(IT)	0.2624	-0.0064	0.0303	-0.3190	0.5874	1

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

From the above table, inventory turnover and debt-to-total asset ratio have the correlation of -0.31, a negative average relationship. Receivable turnover and inventory turnover have a correlation of 0.58, an average strong relationship. These levels of correlation proposed questions of multicollinearity. To answer the questions of multicollinearity, the researcher will run auxiliary regression models and will drop variables if R-square of those models is larger than 70%. However, the forms of the auxiliary regression models depend on the form of the main regression model

All independent variables showed an average relationship on the dependent variable, except for the revenue growth rate. In addition, no variables showed the opposite relationship to the researcher's expectations. However, all these signs can change when these variables are included in the model.

## 3.3 Regression results

### 3.3.1 Regression model determination.

There are 3 types of model to be applied: fixed effect model, random effect model, and pooled model. First, the researcher will run the pooled model and random effect model, then run the Hausman test to see if the random effect model is appropriate. The null hypothesis of the Hausman test is the random effect model is appropriate, the alternative is otherwise. If the testing result shows that the null hypothesis must be rejected, the fixed effect model

will be used. If the null hypothesis cannot be rejected, then the random effect model is the more appropriate model. The researcher first runs the pooled model. Below is the summary result of the pooled regression model.

**Tab 4. Summary of pooled regression result**

Dependent Variable: ROA Method: Pooled Least Squares Included observations: 360 Cross-sections included: 36				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	12.44202	0.278762	44.63321	0.0000
TANG_FA	-0.048695	0.004344	-11.21077	0.0000
RG	0.053048	0.002150	24.67543	0.0000
D_TA	-0.225257	0.004101	-54.92811	0.0000
LOG(RT)	0.851096	0.075233	11.31284	0.0000
LOG(IT)	0.627706	0.114941	5.461105	0.0000
	R-squared		0.286338	
	Adjusted R-squared		0.286063	

Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software

Ignoring period effect and the cross-sectional effect, the pooled model explains 28.83% of the variation of return on asset. However, because the data fluctuated very strongly, it is inappropriate to use the pooled model. Therefore, the random effect model or fixed effect model is prioritized. The researcher added random effect to both cross-section factor and period factor. Below is the summary regression result for the two-way random effect model.

**Tab 5. Summary of two-way random effect regression result**

Dependent Variable: ROA Method: Panel EGLS (Two-way random effects) Total panel (balanced) observations: 360 Swamy and Arora estimator of component variances				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	13.52031	2.562047	5.277153	0.0000
TANG_FA	-0.086274	0.030920	-2.790226	0.0056
RG	0.031724	0.011164	2.841625	0.0047
D_TA	-0.224919	0.028965	-7.765167	0.0000
LOG(RT)	0.265340	0.510652	0.519609	0.6037
LOG(IT)	1.751793	0.871681	2.009671	0.0452
Effects Specification			S.D.	Rho
Cross-section random			5.109556	0.3672
Period random			0.514350	0.0037
Idiosyncratic random			6.687968	0.6291
Weighted Statistics				
R-squared			0.225167	
Adjusted R-squared			0.214223	
Unweighted Statistics				
R-squared			0.269822	

Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software

The R-square of the two ways random effect model is 26.98% lower than the R-squared of the pooled model. All coefficients of the two ways random effect model are statistically significant, except the coefficient of LOG(RT). The researcher still has the choice to use a fixed effect model. To make a decision on choosing the fixed effect model, random effect model, or hybrid model, the researcher will run the Hausman test, and make a decision as stated in the above section. Below is the summary Hausman testing results.

**Tab 6.** Summary of Hausman testing result for two-way random effect

Correlated Random Effects - Hausman Test Test cross-section and period random effects			
Test Summary	Chi-Sq. Statistic	Chi-Sq. d.f.	Prob.
Cross-section and period random	55.391076	5	0.0000

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

It can be seen that the p-values calculated are smaller than 0.05, which means the null hypothesis is rejected. This means there is a significant difference between the fixed effect model and random effect model. Therefore, two-way random effect model is inappropriate. Too choose a fixed factor for a period or cross-sectional factor or both, Hausman test will be conducted for both hybrid models. The period effect is chosen fixed to see whether fixed effect or random effect for cross section is appropriate. Below is the summary Hausman testing result.

**Tab 7.** Summary of Hausman testing result for random cross-section effect

Correlated Random Effects - Hausman Test Test cross-section random effects			
Test Summary	Chi-Sq. Statistic	Chi-Sq. d.f.	Prob.
Cross-section random	11.330238	5	0.0452

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

The calculated p-value is smaller than 0.05, meaning that under the condition of fixed period effect, fixed effect cross-sectional factor is appropriate. Radom effect of period factor will be tested again to see whether the random period effect or fixed period effect is appropriate. Below is the summary result of the Hausman test for a random period effect, under a fixed cross-sectional factor.

**Tab 8.** Summary of Hausman testing result for period random effect

Correlated Random Effects - Hausman Test Test period random effects			
Test Summary	Chi-Sq. Statistic	Chi-Sq. d.f.	Prob.
Period random	25.805281	5	0.0001

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

The calculated p-value is smaller than 0.05, meaning the random period effect is appropriate. Under both testing results, the conclusion is two-way fixed effect model is appropriate. Therefore, two-way fixed effect model is chosen and the model is run again under the fixed cross-sectional effect and fixed period effect. Below is the summary regression result for the two-way fixed effect model.

**Tab 9.** Summary of two-way fixed effect regression result

Dependent Variable: ROA Method: Panel Least Squares Total panel (balanced) observations: 360				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	14.21831	3.233797	4.396785	0.0000
TANG_FA	-0.104334	0.033725	-3.093631	0.0022
RG	0.012820	0.011503	1.114543	0.2659
D_TA	-0.231472	0.031729	-7.295388	0.0000
LOG(RT)	-0.130393	0.587246	-0.222042	0.8244
LOG(IT)	2.531309	1.120369	2.259353	0.0246
Effects Specification				
Cross-section fixed (dummy variables)				
Period fixed (dummy variables)				
R-squared		0.630989		
Adjusted R-squared		0.572661		

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

The p-value of all coefficient in the two-way fixed effect model is smaller than 0.05, except for RG and LOG(RT), meaning that these two variables are not statistically significant. The value of all coefficients is different from zero. The p-value of the F-statistic is 0.000, meaning the model is statistically significant. Independent variables explained 63.09% of the variation of return on asset. The researcher first comes up with the first regression model:

$$\text{ROA} = (14.21831) + (-0.104334)*\text{TANG\_FA} + 0.012820*\text{RG} \\ + (-0.231472)*\text{D\_TA} + (-0.130393)*\text{LOG(RT)} + 2.531309*\text{LOG(IT)}$$

### 3.3.2 Multicollinearity testing

The problem of multicollinearity happened when independent variables have a strong relationship with others. This violated the assumption of the regression model as those variables must be independent. In fact, there is almost no absolute zero multicollinearity. If the multicollinearity is not serious, the researcher will do nothing. If multicollinearity level is serious, then the solution is dropping one of the variables with multicollinearity, and run the model again. The decision to drop depends on R-square of an auxiliary regression model. If the R-square of the auxiliary regression model is higher than 70%, one variable will be dropped.

The researcher will run an auxiliary regression model on suspected variables stated in previous sections. They are D\_TA – LOG(IT), LOG(IT) – LOG(RT).

#### ➤ Auxiliary regression model 1: D\_TA – LOG(IT)

The researcher found the correlation between D\_TA and LOG(IT) variable is -0.31. The relationship, in this case, is average, but it does not include a panel effect. Since the main regression model is a two-way fixed effect model, the auxiliary regression model will also be two-way fixed effect model.

After running the auxiliary regression model, the result is the model is statistically significant, and the R-square level is 86.22%. However, the p-value of D\_TA coefficient is larger than 0.05, meaning that the relationship between D\_TA and LOG(IT) is insignificant. The high R-square value is caused by dummy variables for the fixed cross-sectional effect and fixed period effect. Therefore, multicollinearity is not serious in this case, neither D\_TA nor LOG(IT) will be dropped. Below is the summary regression result of the auxiliary D\_TA – LOG(IT) regression model.

**Tab 10.** Summary of auxiliary regression result of D\_TA-LOG(IT) model

Dependent Variable: LOG(IT)				
Method: Panel Least Squares				
Total panel (balanced) observations: 360				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	1.975989	0.035359	55.88320	0.0000
D_TA	4.48E-05	0.001496	0.029964	0.9761
Effects Specification				
Cross-section fixed (dummy variables)				
Period fixed (dummy variables)				
R-squared			0.862221	
Adjusted R-squared			0.842476	

*Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EVIEWS software*

Theoretically, firms issued debts to finance short-term and long-term projects. In this research, the debt-to-total asset ratio covers both short term debt and long term debts. Firms can issue short-term debts or use short term financial instruments such as short term bonds to finance for working capital (Brigham and Daves 2010). Therefore, there will be a relationship between the debt ratio and inventory turnover ratio. The empirical results for Vietnamese food and beverage industry may be different because financed debt is mainly long term.

➤ **Auxiliary regression model 2: LOG(IT) – LOG(RT).**

The correlation between LOG(IT) and LOG(RT) variable is 0.58. The relationship is averagely strong, but it does not include the panel effect. Since the main regression model is a two-way fixed effect model, the auxiliary regression model form will be the same. The result is the model is statistically significant, coefficients are statistically significant and different from zero. and R-square level is 75.77%. However, the p-value of LOG(IT) coefficient is larger than 0.05, meaning the relationship between LOG(IT) or LOG(RT) is insignificant. The high R-square value is caused by dummy variables for the fixed cross-sectional effect and fixed period effect. Therefore, multicollinearity is not serious in this case, neither LOG(IT) nor LOG(RT) will be dropped. Below is the regression result of the auxiliary LOG(IT) – LOG(RT) regression model.

**Tab 11.** Summary of auxiliary regression result of LOG(RT)-LOG(IT) model

Dependent Variable: LOG(RT)				
Method: Panel Least Squares				
Total panel (balanced) observations: 360				
Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	3.454682	0.219913	15.70933	0.0000
LOG(IT)	-0.024596	0.109845	-0.223919	0.8230
Effects Specification				
Cross-section fixed (dummy variables)				
Period fixed (dummy variables)				
R-squared			0.757715	
Adjusted R-squared			0.722993	

Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EViews software

In terms of working capital management, inventory turnover, and receivable turnover cause cash inflows, while payable turnover causes cash outflows (Brigham and Daves 2010). Inventory turnover and receivable turnover are not closely correlated (Brigham and Daves, 2010). The claim is applicable to Vietnamese food and beverage industry; as empirical research, result shows the same idea.

After running 2 auxiliary regression model, since no variable is dropped, the first main regression model is unchanged. The model is now tested for residual normality. The equation of the main regression model under the two-way fixed effect is presented as follows:

$$\text{ROA} = (14.21831) + (-0.104334)*\text{TANG\_FA} + 0.012820*\text{RG} \\ + (-0.231472)*\text{D\_TA} + (-0.130393)*\text{LOG(RT)} + 2.531309*\text{LOG(IT)}$$

### 3.3.3 Residual Normality Testing

The ordinary least square method assumes that residual values are normally distributed. If this assumption is not held, the estimated coefficients ranges are not reliable. If this error is not serious, then this error can be accepted. Violation of this assumption does not cause bias or inefficiency of the model (Gujarati and Porter 2009). If the sample size is larger than 200 observations, the Central Limit Theorem will ensure a normal distribution of error terms. (Gujarati and Porter 2009). In this case, the sample size is 360 observations, which is considered as large sample size. However, the researcher still tested for residual normality for conservatism. The null hypothesis is the model's residual terms are normally distributed. The alternative hypothesis is model's residual terms are not normally distributed. Below is the normality testing result.

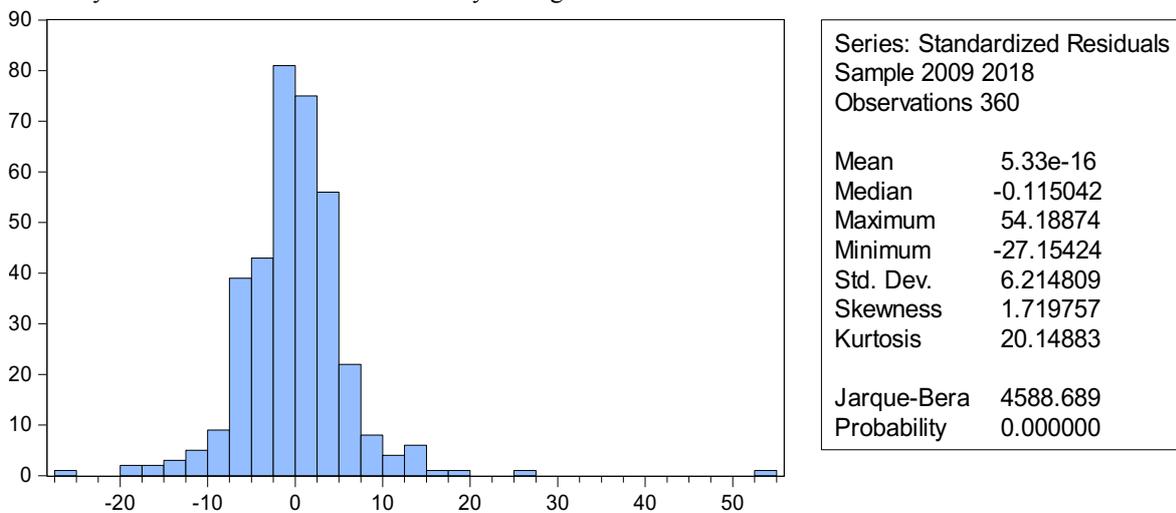


Fig1. Residual normality testing result

Source: Researcher's calculation, extracted from EViews software

The p-value is 0.00, smaller than 0.05, meaning the null hypothesis is rejected. The testing results interpreted that the model has the error of residual normality. According to the central limit theorem, as the sample number, in this case, is large, the disturbance terms are considered to be normally distributed. Therefore, the result is accepted, and no further working needs to be done.

### 3.3.4 Finalized regression model and interpretations

After testing for regression issues, the researchers came up with the finalized model:

$$\text{ROA} = (14.21831) + (-0.104334)*\text{TANG\_FA} + 0.012820*\text{RG}$$

$$+ (-0.231472)*D\_TA + (-0.130393)*LOG(RT) + 2.531309*LOG(IT)$$

Overall, independent variables have significant effects on ROA, except LOG(RT) and RG. Three variables having the strongest effect on return on the asset are inventory turnover, tangible fixed asset, and debt-to-total asset ratio.

First, the inventory turnover ratio has a positive relationship with ROA. The coefficient of inventory turnover is 2.5313, meaning that if the inventory turnover increase by 1%, ROA will increase by 0.025313%. This relationship follows the idea of working capital management. If the company can well manage its inventory, the overall performance will be improved significantly. This case is right to Vietnamese food and beverage industry.

Secondly, the tangible fixed asset ratio has a negative impact on ROA. To be specific, the coefficient is -0.104, meaning that if the tangible fixed asset ratio decreases by 1%, ROA will increase by 0.104%. This is opposed by the researcher's expectation as the more investment in the tangible fixed asset will be the will lead to better technological ability, and will increase overall efficiency. The case is not applicable to Vietnamese food and beverage industry. However, the result does not mean they should necessarily reduce tangible fixed asset investment, but should pay more attention to the current asset to prevent the case of insufficient working capital, or investing in intangible assets such as the accounting system or enterprise resource planning system.

Thirdly, the debt to total asset ratio has a negative relationship with return on asset. Respective coefficient of this variable is (-0.23), meaning that if the debt-to-total asset ratio decreased by 1%, ROA would increase by 0.23%. This relationship follows the trade-off theories that companies should pay attention to their capital structure if they don't want to face the risk of bankruptcy (Brigham and Daves 2010). This results also follows the idea of previous researches of other industry, as companies should use less debt if they want to increase the overall efficiency. Although using debt affect overall efficiency both positively and negatively, the negative sign of the coefficient of debt to asset ratio means the inefficiency of using debts (Tung 2017). The empirical data showed the same idea to Vietnamese food and beverage industry.

Lastly, the two remaining variables showed their effects on ROA, but the relationships are not statically significant. The weak effect of these variables is explainable. If the receivable turnover ratio decreases by 1%, ROA will increase by 0.0013%. The sign of the respective coefficient of receivable turnover ratio does not agree with the researcher's expectation stated in previous sections. The receivable turnover ratio is showing firms bargaining power on cash collection from sales (Brigham and Daves 2010). Cash collection affects cash flows and will also overall efficiency. Tung (2017) showed a significant correlation between ROA and days of receivables, but the impact is minor due to the small coefficient. However, in terms of accounting basis, when cash collection occurs, there is an increase in cash and a decrease in account receivables, which does not affect the total asset and the net income figures. In case firms have uncollectible receivables, there will be a recognition of receivable allowance into the balance sheet and income statement, affecting both total asset and net income. Therefore, the receivable turnover ratio may have a weak effect on ROA, but the relationship is insignificant. The idea is inapplicable to Vietnamese food and beverage industry because in general, they do not hold a large portion of uncollected account receivable.

If the growth rate increased by 1%, ROA will increase by 0.01%. The sign of the respective coefficient of the growth rate agrees with the researcher's expectation stated in previous sections. Tung (2017) claimed a significant relationship between revenue growth and returned on the asset, and believed enterprises with high revenue growth can reduce cost, expand, and up-scale production. However, the insignificance of this relationship is caused by accounting reasons. If firms achieved great sales growth, the growth, it means that sales and net income increased significantly. This increase is also reflected in the increase in total asset, and therefore, does not change the total asset ratio significantly. As a result, the insignificant relationship between sales growth and ROA is understandable.

Another noted point from the regression result is the form of this model. The model includes both dummy variables for cross-sectional effect and period effect. The regression result showed that estimators under a fixed effect model and random effect model differs significantly. When the number of cross-sectional data is large, and the period data is small, the fixed effect model can be the more appropriate model (Gujarati and Porter 2009). However, if the cross-sectional units are sampled and randomly chosen from a larger population, then the random effect model can be the more appropriate model (Gujarati and Porter 2009). After conducting Hausman tests, the conclusion is two-way fixed effect model is appropriate, following the first claim. The result of the two-way fixed effect model had taken into account the uniqueness of sampled firms by adding cross-sectional dummy variable and take into account year over year changes.

#### 4. Conclusion

The research gathered theoretical framework about the business cycle, corporate governance, efficiency, its determinants, gave an assessment of about Vietnamese economy, Vietnamese food, and beverage industry and used empirical data to answer the research questions. The research result is the efficiency of Vietnamese food and beverage companies depends on five factors: capital structure, tangible fixed asset, growth rate, receivable turnover, and inventory turnover. To be specific, three factors affecting efficiency are capital structure, inventory turnover, and tangible fixed asset, while receivable turnover and growth rate do not show significant impacts on overall efficiency. Based on the regression results, the researcher suggested firms to enter an operating lease, choosing appropriate fixed asset management policy and pay attention to inventory management at both the corporate level and warehouse level. The research showed its limitations and suggested three improvements. The first improvement is gathering data from unlisted companies and includes dummy variables to see the difference between listed and unlisted firms. The second improvement is including variable measuring labor intensity. The third improvement is adding a macro factor into the model. These improvements will improve the academic properties of the research.

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# Importance of Cultural Heritage in a Post-Disaster Setting: Perspectives from the Kathmandu Valley

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## Abstract

This paper explores the role of cultural heritage in a post-disaster setting and its importance in maintaining the social and cultural values in the redevelopment of areas damaged by an earthquake. It uses a case study method with the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal as the case study site. Intangible heritage in the valley such as daily rituals, festivals, and processions helped people to overcome the traumatic experiences of the disaster and helped communities reconnect with each other. Findings from the research show that cultural heritage plays an important role in helping people readjust their lives after major disasters such as the 2015 Nepal earthquake. It argues for recognition of cultural heritage in the post-disaster recovery and redevelopment process.

**Keywords:** Natural Disaster, Cultural Heritage, Historic Cities, Developing Countries, Intangible, Kathmandu Valley

## 1. Introduction

Cultural heritage is of increasing significance to every society. It provides a sense of belonging and can be an anchor in a rapidly changing world. It is the result of people's interaction with their environment and with one another. In recent times, cultural heritage in historic cities is facing pressure from different areas including globalisation, urbanisation, rapid growth of socio-economic progress and natural disaster. Natural disasters such as earthquake, fire, flood, volcanic eruption and windstorm pose threats to the integrity, and on some occasion the very survival of cultural heritage (Spennemann, 1999). It disrupts the normal processes of life accompanied by a physical change of familiar surroundings and emotional benchmarks. UNISDR (2009) define disasters as sudden events that bring disruption to a society with human, material, economic and environmental losses or impacts that exceed the ability of the affected community to cope up with by using their own resources. On April 25 and May 2015, earthquakes of 7.8 and 7.3 magnitude hit Nepal and wreaked havoc across the country. The earthquakes and aftershocks caused significant damages to several historic buildings and led to a staggering loss of lives in 39 districts of the central and western region of Nepal along with damages to 2900 heritage structures with cultural and religious values (Government of Nepal, 2015). Besides the destruction of cultural heritage sites, the earthquakes also led to breakdown of practices, rituals, and activities enacted by people in their daily lives.

In recent times, there has been an increasing focus on cultural heritage and disaster. Spennemann & Graham (2007) argued for disaster management of cultural heritage sites claiming that heritage cannot protect itself and therefore heritage managers as the custodians and stewards must ensure that it is protected. To conserve and protect cultural heritage after a disaster, it is foremost important to understand its role in the aftermath of a disaster. Both tangible and intangible heritage provides community the familiarity that helps them to cope in the chaotic environment and plays an integral role in assisting communities to readjust their lives after the earthquake. UNESCO (2015a, 2015b) defines tangible heritage as “buildings and historic places, monuments which are considered worthy of preservation for the future” while intangible heritage are “the traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts”. Scholars such as Bhandari, Okada & Knottnerus (2011) have focused on the role of intangible heritage like ritual practices for enhancing the capacity of a community to adapt to disaster risk. Eyre (1999) demonstrated how ritual expression can help to express the sense of shock, anger, disbelief, grief and other emotions associated with the disaster. Cultural heritage and the conservation of it can essentially assist the community in achieving some sense of normalcy and assist in the recovery process (Nelson, 1991, Hollow & Spennemann, 2001).

With this in focus, this paper highlights the role of heritage in a post-disaster setting and its importance in maintaining the social and cultural values in the redevelopment of areas damaged by a natural disaster. Empirical evidence concerning heritage and disaster is derived from a study of Kathmandu and Lalitpur in Nepal. The global attention to illustrate recovery and redevelopment process in Kathmandu after the 2015 earthquake creates a dynamic context for exploring the role of heritage after a disaster. Several methods were employed to highlight the importance of heritage after the disaster including questionnaire surveys and semi-structured interviews. The first part of the paper discusses natural disaster and cultural heritage along with the methods employed in the research. The second part discusses the Kathmandu Valley as the case study site and the last part presents results and discusses the findings.

## 2. Method

Over the last few decades, natural disasters are occurring at an increasing rate causing heavy losses to human lives, damages to physical properties and affecting socio-economic conditions of different communities. The 2004 tsunami in India, 2005 hurricane in New Orleans, 2010 earthquake in Haiti, 2010 floods in Pakistan, 2013 fire in China and 2015 earthquake in Nepal challenged the country and its development at a large scale. It destabilised the meaning of the place resulting in the breakdown of practices enacted by people in their daily lives (Fields, Wagner & Frisch, 2014). In times of these major disasters, it is the cultural heritage component of the environment that played an integral role in assisting communities to cope with these events (Spennemann & Graham, 2007). It presented them with familiar surrounds and activities which provided assurances and reassurances. Cultural heritage has a powerful impact on the way people experience and respond to disturbances of their everyday practices. UNESCO in its Third Medium-Term Plan 1990-1995 has defined cultural heritage as:

The entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of mankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognisable features and is the storehouse of human experience. The preservation and the presentation of the cultural heritage are therefore a cornerstone of any cultural policy (1990, pp. 87-88).

There is a considerable body of literature on disaster but very few researches focus on heritage. Most of the research on heritage and natural disaster focus on the impact and risk of the disaster on tangible heritage (Baer, 1991; Donaldson, 1998; Langenbach, 2001; Mackee, Haugen & Askew 2014; Stovel, 1998; Maio, 2017). However, there is a body of literature on the role of rituals as a coping mechanism in the aftermath of a disaster. Thornburg, Knottnerus & Webb (2007) demonstrated that human responses to disaster often involve ritual

practices such as recreation, religious and social interaction with family and friends which provide them meaning, direction and stability. Bhandari, Okada & Knottnerus. (2011) focussed on ritualised activities before, during and after the 1934 Nepal earthquake. Their findings reveal that the ritual practices enhanced the ability of the community to cope with such situations and revive a normal social life. Wenger & Weller (1973) and Suri (2018) focussed on the role of cultural elements such as values, beliefs, knowledge, and legends in the survival, adaptation and recovery of the communities hit by the disasters. The intangible heritage such as the festivals, processions, and religious activities not only assist the community after the earthquake but can also contribute to disaster management. This has been highlighted by Bhandari (2014) in his research on the Kathmandu Valley after the 1934 earthquake. He emphasised on the role of ritual procession for disaster risk reduction of a heritage site like the Kathmandu Valley and argues that the ritual processions provide an opportunity for communities to collaborate with local government organisations. During a ritual procession, local government authorities, security organisers and hospitals work in close collaboration with the local organisers for the safety and security of the participants. This can help to develop an extended network of organisations outside a community which can assist at the time of a disaster. His research also highlighted the role of *guthis*, a socio-religious organisation for the Kathmandu Valley. He mentioned that since *guthis* (socio-religious organisations) are locally accepted authority structure, it can help in speeding up the decisions during an emergency and ease the flow of information due to the already established channels of communications.

Cultural heritage is important for the emotional well-being of an affected community in the disaster recovery phase. Spennemann & Graham (2007) argue that the protection of heritage sites should rank as highly as protection of property. In order to highlight the importance of conservation of heritage in a post-disaster setting, there is a need to first understand its role in an aftermath of a disaster. Once we understand its role, we can devise policies and strategies for the conservation of heritage. This is even more important for a living heritage like the Kathmandu Valley where cultural heritage is an integral part of everyday life of the community.

### 3. Methodology

This research adopts a mixed method approach with case study as a research strategy that follows the multiple case design. Yin (2014, p.14) defines a case study approach as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. This approach allowed for data collection to be done by a combination of methods such as questionnaires and interviews. A combination of methods was necessary for this research due to the multidisciplinary and complex nature of heritage and disaster. The setting of this research is the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal where the earthquake of 2015 caused huge devastation in the country. The field work was conducted a year after the earthquake between March and June of 2016.

The central objective of this paper is to understand the role of heritage in the post-disaster setting and understand its role in maintaining the social and cultural values of the site. The methodology involved three principal steps:

- The first step involved questionnaire surveys with the homeowners and stakeholders. Both group of participants were asked questions about the role of heritage in the redevelopment of the site, importance of tying the redevelopment with cultural heritage of the site, role of heritage in maintaining the social and cultural values in the redevelopment process and so on. Participants were asked to answer questions using a Likert scale ranging from not important (rating 1) to very important (rating 5) and strongly disagree (rating 1) to strongly agree (rating 5). A total of 232 surveys were conducted which included 163 homeowners and 69 stakeholders. Homeowners for the surveys were residents from the *Newar* community living within an area of 2 km radius of the core area in Kathmandu while stakeholders chosen for the surveys were commercial organisations, *guthis* (socio-religious organisations), local community and local government organisations either located or active in the core area of Kathmandu. Systematic random sampling was employed for the selection of survey participants. Survey data were coded and analysed using SPSS. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse mean frequency and standard deviation of all the responses. Student t-test was used to

investigate difference in the opinion between the two groups of participants i.e., the homeowners and stakeholders.

- The second step involved semi-structured interviews with 19 stakeholders. Stakeholders chosen for the interviews included central and local government organisations, academicians, conservationists and local community leaders. Stakeholders were asked similar questions as the questionnaire surveys.
- The third step involved semi-structured interviews with two *guthis* associated with Kasthamandap, a historic structure in Kathmandu which was destroyed during the 2015 earthquake. *Guthis* were asked about the festivals and religious activities associated with Kasthamandap and the continuation of it after the destruction of the structure. They were also asked about the role of heritage in helping them reconnect with other community members.

Both interviews were conducted in Nepali language and audio recorded. The audio recordings of interviews were translated and transcribed into English for the purpose of the analysis. Interview data were coded and analysed using content analysis in NVivo. Qualitative content analysis provides a way to interpret and understand the meaning of the text.

#### **4. Case Study: the Kathmandu Valley**

The historic cores of Kathmandu and Lalitpur in the Kathmandu Valley were selected as case study sites. The Kathmandu Valley is the administrative, economic and political centre of Nepal. As the national hub, the valley is home to approximately 2.54 million population with an annual growth rate of 4.3% (Kathmandu Valley Development Authority, 2016). It is one of the fastest growing urban areas in South Asia. Located at the crossroads of an ancient Asian civilisation, the Kathmandu Valley is characterised by a compact urban form, traditional planning concepts, rich built heritage and diverse socio-cultural activities. Seven out of the ten UNESCO world heritage sites in Nepal are in the valley. UNESCO (2016) declared the seven monument zones collectively as a single site and called it the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site. The properties were inscribed under criteria (iii), (iv) and (vi) of the operational guidelines of the World Heritage Convention, which means that the value of these sites is based on their living culture, the architectural ensembles and the association to the belief, art and other intangible attributes of the urban heritage (2014). Figure 1 shows the core of Kathmandu and Lalitpur in the Kathmandu Valley.

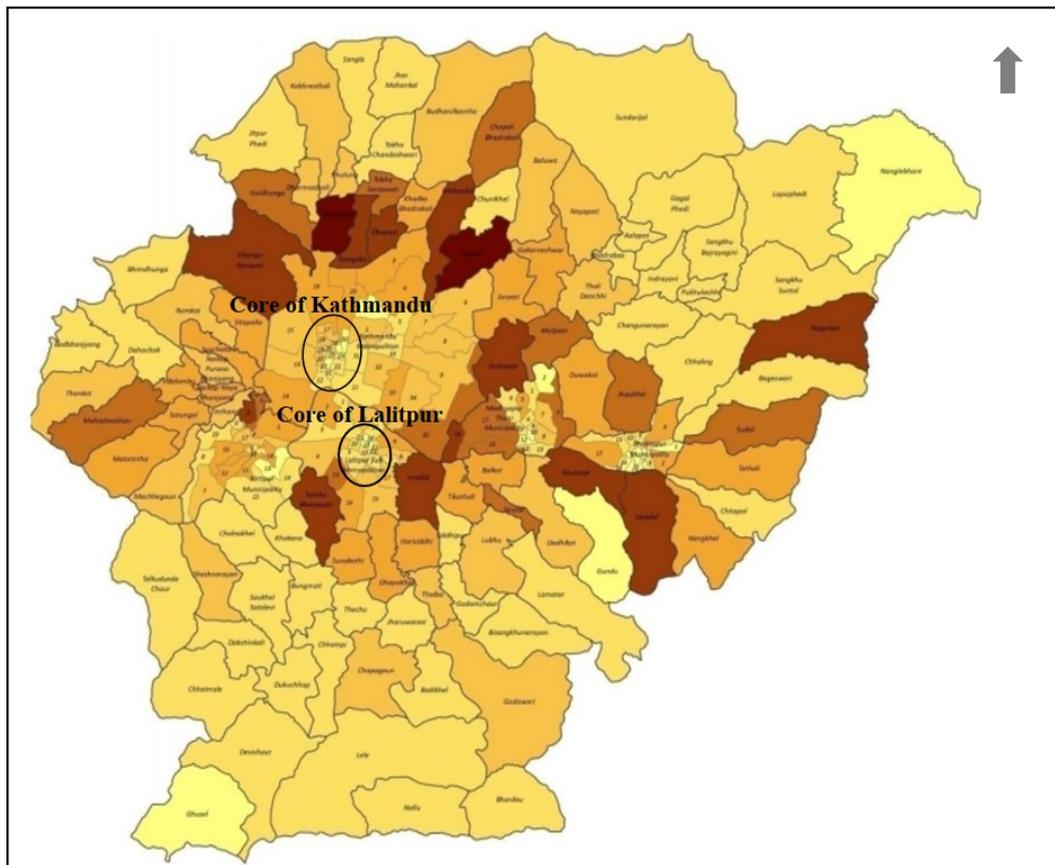


Figure 1. Map of the Kathmandu Valley (Source: Kathmandu Valley Development Authority)

Urban pattern of the core consists of two basic elements; blocks of closely built two to three storey houses clustered around courtyards and a network of streets and pedestrian lanes. The squares and alleyways are home to many temples, dance platforms, wells and public rest houses. Almost all neighbourhoods have a temple for its own Ganesh and a shrine for its area protector. Each divinity presides over a particular territory and every year each deity is led out in procession (Silva, 2015). In addition, daily rituals and activities along with tangible heritage make the Kathmandu Valley a living heritage site. Figure 2 shows examples of the tangible and intangible heritage in the valley.



Figure 2. A typical neighbourhood in the core area (left) and Rato Machhendranath Festival (right) (Source: Author)

*Newar* people are the focus of living heritage of Kathmandu as their social structure is unique with the coexistence of Hinduism and Buddhism (Government of Nepal, World Heritage Centre & UNESCO, 2007). Even though *Newars* are the majority in the valley, each group of people have their own distinct rituals but readily accept the different beliefs and customs. There is a strong social tie amongst *Newar* communities in all the cities due to the *guthi* (Weise, 2014). A *guthi* is a common interest group with collective responsibilities and privileges devised to enable the individual or group of the society to fulfil his socio-religious obligations. All the community works, and activities are organised in the form of *guthis*. The upkeep of monasteries, temples and shrines by the *guthis* are done through the administration of proceeds from lands granted as endowments to deities and their temples or shrines. A Guthi Corporation was established in 1964 to consolidate all *guthis* to a central unit and to preserve the tangible and intangible heritage (Weise 2014). This affected the ancient management system and the will of the communities to preserve their temples, monuments, rest houses and other public spaces.

In recent times, rapid urbanisation and population growth is gradually eroding the heritage of the valley. The growing influx of migrants and booming population in the valley has led to expansion of the core leading to urban sprawl, loss of open spaces, decreased liveability and rise of concrete structures different from traditional brick structure (Shrestha, 2011; ICIMOD, UNEP & Government of Nepal, 2007; Thapa, Murayama & Ale, 2008). It has also led to conversion of otherwise homogeneous population to a heterogeneous one creating disconnect of the community with their heritage. *Newar* people who are the core community of the valley are now slowly moving away from the core to the suburbs leading to a gradual loss of rituals, festivals and activities.

Another issue for the conservation of cultural heritage has been natural disaster specially earthquakes. The Kathmandu Valley is vulnerable to earthquakes as Nepal is straddled between the fault lines of two tectonic plates: the Indian and the Eurasian plates. In the past massive earthquakes have occurred every 100 years or so in Nepal. The 2015 earthquake and its massive aftershocks caused enormous damages to heritage structures of cultural and religious values. Major monuments in seven world heritage monument zones were severely damaged and many collapsed completely including Kasthamandap. More than three years later, Kathmandu is now slowly reeling back from the loss of heritage structures that has greatly affected the rituals, practices and activities associated with it. The government has started the process of reconstructing the heritage structures even though there is a lot of debate regarding the construction techniques and materials being used for the reconstruction. On 14 May 2018, the Nepalese government started the reconstruction of Kasthamandap which was the oldest standing structure in Kathmandu when it collapsed on 25 April 2015. Kasthamandap was an important historic structure as it gave Kathmandu its name. The structure dated back to at least 1143 AD and was primarily a rest house due to its location at the intersection of two trade routes. However, it also served many social and religious functions such as a temple, council hall, marketplace and so on. During the observation of daily activities around the structure after the earthquake, it was seen that community members were performing their daily offerings to the gods and goddesses within Kasthamandap on the lock of the fence erected after the disaster. The fence was put up by the Kathmandu Metropolitan City immediately after the earthquake to protect the structure from either vandalism or destruction. Figure 3 shows the Kasthamandap before and after the earthquake. Besides these daily rituals, various annual festivals take place in Kasthamandap which are performed by the *guthis*. Three major *guthis* were identified with Kasthamandap after interviews with the local community members. Out of the three *guthis*, one has ceased to exist due to the community members moving away from the core area to the suburbs and the lack of interest from the younger generation. The second *guthi* is the Ta Chata Guthi and the third is the Sa Guthi. Members of these *guthis* are from different castes of the *Newar* community. Interviews with these two *guthis* were undertaken to understand the role of heritage after the destruction of Kasthamandap.



Figure 3. Kasthamandap before the earthquake (left) and Kasthamandap after the earthquake (right)  
(Source: Author)

Intangible heritage such as festivals and *jatra* (procession) that took place in Kathmandu after the 2015 earthquake played a significant role in helping people cope and adapt after the disaster. Soon after the earthquake, the Indra Jatra festival took place in the core of Kathmandu. This festival is the most important collective festivity of Kathmandu. It is celebrated in August-September every year at the end of rainy season (Toffice, 1990). The festival lasts for eight days and during this occasion a massive chariot is pulled by a huge procession that circumambulates the ritual path of the city. After the earthquake, it was very difficult for the organising committee to continue the festival as many structures that were an important part of the festival were destroyed by the earthquake. The Maju Dega temple from where people would watch the spectacle of the festival was completely destroyed, the Trailokya Mohan temple where an important re-enactment of god Vishnu is performed is now in debris and the Kumari Ghar which is home of the living goddess of Nepal is still propped up with timber supports. Figure 4 shows the Trailokya and Maju Dega temples before and after the earthquake. The narrow alleyways through which the chariot is pulled was also in precarious state due to collapsed structures and the supporting poles of the houses. Despite these difficulties, the festival was celebrated as it is an inseparable part of the lives of Nepalese people. Energy of the people witnessing the festival and the pride they had towards their heritage was much more after the earthquake which was remarkable to observe. These festivals essentially helped communities to overcome the traumatic experiences of the earthquake. All of this highlights the importance of cultural heritage for the Kathmandu Valley both in the recovery and redevelopment of the site.



Figure 4. Trailokya Mohan and Maju Dega temple before and after the earthquake (Source: Author)

## 5. Results and findings

This section is divided into two sub sections. Sub section 5.1 presents the results of the questionnaire surveys conducted with homeowners and stakeholders and semi-structured interviews conducted with stakeholders. Sub section 5.2 presents the results of the interviews conducted with the *guthis* associated with Kathmandu. This ultimately can lead to incorporate heritage in the redevelopment of areas damaged by a natural disaster.

### 5.1 Role of heritage a disaster

This section presents perception of the participants about the role of heritage after a disaster. The first part presents the results of the questionnaire surveys with homeowners and stakeholders and the second part presents the results of the interviews with stakeholders. The questionnaire survey asked questions on the role of heritage in redevelopment of the site, importance of tying the redevelopment with the cultural heritage of the site and role of heritage in maintaining the social and cultural values in redevelopment process. Participants were also asked to rate their opinion (strongly disagree to strongly agree) about two statements: ‘Heritage helped me to reconnect with the community after the earthquake’ and ‘Community should be an active part of the redevelopment process’. Figure 5 illustrates the perception of homeowners and stakeholders in both Kathmandu and Lalitpur. High mean value of all the variables highlight the role of heritage after a disaster. Only the statement – heritage helped me to reconnect with the community after the earthquake had a lower mean score compared to other variables. Overall, the role of heritage is considered important in the aftermath of a disaster by both homeowners and stakeholders. Role of heritage in the redevelopment of the site had the highest mean score for both group of participants in Kathmandu (Homeowners = 4.75 and Stakeholders = 4.72) and Lalitpur (Homeowners = 4.42 and Stakeholders = 4.61). Participants considered it important to tie the redevelopment with the cultural heritage of the site along with the importance of heritage in maintaining the social and cultural values in the post-disaster setting as seen from figure 5. This shows that the community understands the role of cultural heritage in the redevelopment of the site after it was destroyed by the earthquake. The responses were very similar for both the sites. Participants also believed that the community should be an active part of the redevelopment process. The survey findings confirm that the community is an essential part of the living heritage of the valley and their role should be highlighted. The government of Nepal should focus on involving them in the redevelopment process. For a living heritage site like the Kathmandu Valley, religion-based activities such as rituals, worship, prayers and just the daily religious activities are important and provide a great deal of comfort, direction and sense of stability (Bhandari, Okada & Knottnerus, 2011). This was seen after the earthquake where these intangible heritages helped the community to reconnect with the members of their society and cope and adjust after the earthquake. This can also be seen from the questionnaire survey as both group of participants in Kathmandu and Lalitpur have given it a high mean score.

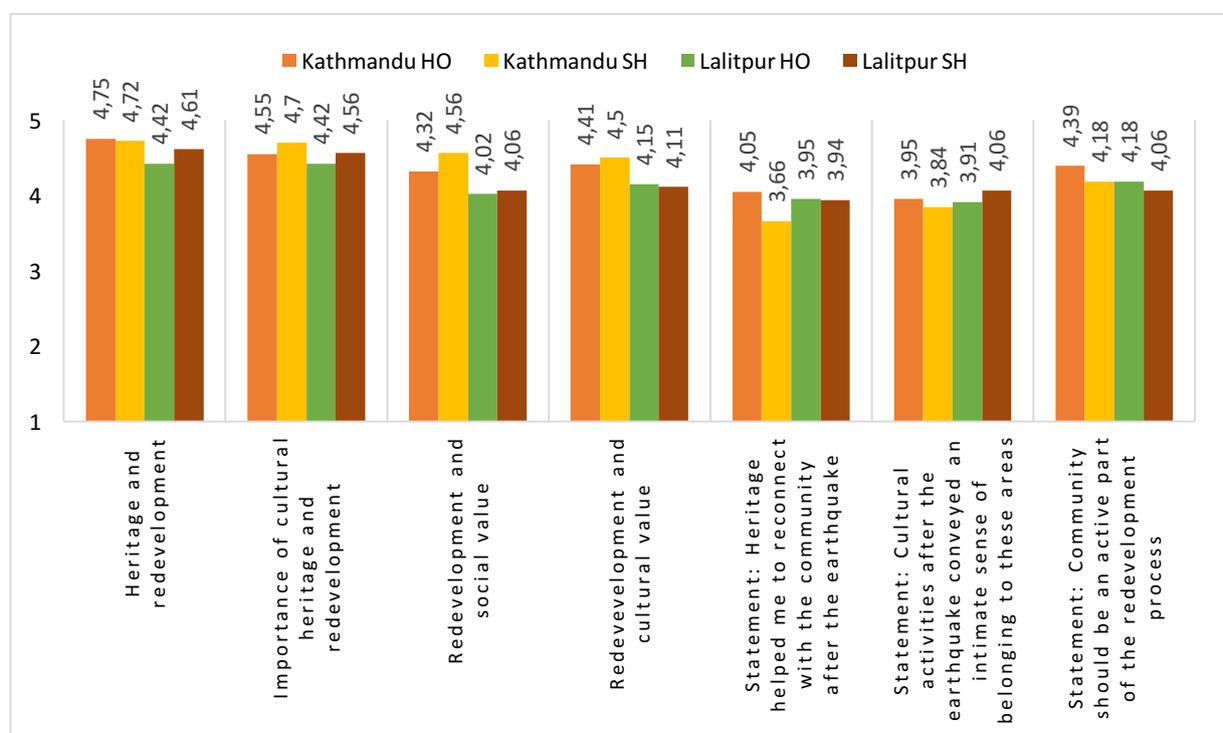


Figure 5. Perception of heritage after the disaster by the participants of Kathmandu and Lalitpur

A t-test of the surveys was also done to see if there was any difference in the opinion of homeowners and stakeholders. It is interesting to note that the opinions of homeowners and stakeholders did not vary much. There

was a difference in opinion of homeowners and stakeholders of Kathmandu for only the statement - heritage helped me to reconnect with the community after the earthquake  $t(82.462) = 1.959, p < 0.05$ . Homeowners agreed more with the statement than stakeholders. This maybe because homeowners have stronger connection with the site and community than stakeholders. There was no difference in the opinion of homeowners and stakeholders for Lalitpur. Both groups have similar opinions. The similarity in opinions of both homeowners and stakeholders for both the sites further highlights the role and importance of heritage after the earthquake.

Stakeholder interview results reconfirm that heritage should be as much a priority in the recovery and redevelopment of the site as the infrastructure. Participants shared that the heritage helped communities to come together and maintain the social and cultural values. It acted as a coping mechanism for the communities. In the study of disasters and other extreme events, the concept of coping can be defined as people and groups' reactions to and connections with the wider society in the face of stressful situation (Bhandari, 2014). One of the academics summarised the opinion of many when he said:

Heritage played a major role in bringing communities together and reuniting them after the earthquake. It helped them to continue with their daily activities. The daily rituals that people do every morning in the temples and monuments helped them to forget about the destruction of the earthquake (Participant #A3).

With the destruction of heritage structures, community's usual connection to the site was disrupted as they could not continue with the socio-cultural activities. However, resilience of the people and their determination to continue with the activities shows the significance of cultural heritage for the community. This was noted by a community leader from Kathmandu:

The earthquake destroyed so many heritage structures. We were not able to continue our religious rituals and activities, but this did not deter the community. They continued with their rituals and activities even if the temple was destroyed. The idol of the god is there and that is more important. Nothing disrupted the community in continuing with the activities (Participant #LC1).

Continuity and participation of communities after the earthquake in socio-religious activities emphasise the role of heritage in bringing communities together as a community leader from Lalitpur noted:

*The heritage helped people to continue the social and cultural values. It helped them to adapt after the earthquake. After the earthquake, we made a lot of changes to our festivals and processions, but we did continue it. This ensured the social and cultural continuity. Sring Bhedi Jatra is an example of this. It was difficult to organise this procession due to earthquake, but the community still wanted to continue it. After consultation with the community, we were able to organise it but with modifications to the length and route of the procession. This showed that the community is willing to make changes to continue with their cultural heritage. This also shows that heritage helped people to come out of the traumatic situation and bring communities together. (Respondent #LC2).*

One of the points stressed by stakeholders was about the importance of heritage spaces and structures in the recovery phase. Rapid and mostly unplanned urbanisation has led to conversion of open spaces into multi storied concrete structures. It has also led to the encroachment of such spaces by different commercial activities such as parking, vendors and so on. Due to the lack of open spaces in the core of the cities, spaces around the tangible structures such as temples and monuments were used by community to congregate after the earthquake. One of the members of local community put it:

Every temple has an open space around it and in some cases, those were the only open spaces in our neighbourhood. People started to congregate in these open spaces after the earthquake and reconnected with their community (Participant #LC9).

One of the academicians noted that the use of *patis* (resthouses), temples and the open spaces around the heritage structures during the disaster response and recovery phase further highlighted the importance of heritage structures for a living heritage site like the Kathmandu Valley.

Heritage helped people adapt to the aftermath of disaster and helped in the immediate recovery. People used the open areas around the temple, *patis* and other spaces with the heritage site to protect themselves from the aftershocks. It is interesting to see that people used these spaces because they felt that it was their heritage (Participant #A1).

Both questionnaire surveys and stakeholder interviews emphasised the importance of heritage after a disaster. Heritage usually takes a back seat during the redevelopment phase, but the interview findings show that it should be on the forefront of the discussion.

### *5.2 Role of heritage after a disaster: a case of Kasthamandap, Kathmandu*

In addition to stakeholder interviews, interviews with *guthis* were also conducted to understand the role heritage played after the earthquake especially for *guthis* as they play an essential role in the conservation of heritage in the Kathmandu Valley. Interviews were conducted with two *guthis* associated with Kasthamandap to understand the links between each *guthi* with Kasthamandap, the role heritage played after the earthquake and how they adapted their rituals to give continuation to the festivals even after the complete destruction of the structure.

Ta Chata and Sa Guthi celebrate annual festivals in Kasthamandap. These are celebrated according to the lunar calendar of Nepal. Ta Chata Guthi is believed to be 1,135 years old and consists of 60 members of Tamrakar caste living in Piganani tole. This *guthi* celebrates an annual almsgiving festival where they offer alms to the priests of Bajracharya and Shakya caste. It takes place over three days. On the first day, they cook rice on the North West corner of Kasthamandap and keep it overnight by offering *puja* (worship) to it. On the second day, they take it out and again perform *puja* to the rice. The offering of alms is done in a *mandap* which is raised platform made from four planks of wood. Rice is then offered to the priests. Figure 6 shows the worship of rice to be offered to the priests and rice being offered to the priests. On the third day, the eldest member of all 60 households is served with rice pudding. This is performed in the house or courtyard of the group that is performing the event. Every year a group of ten people are given the task of performing the almsgiving festival. The eldest member of this group of ten is given the task to take care of vessels needed to cook the rice. This annual festival took place after the earthquake however the rituals had to be adjusted and modified due to the complete destruction of Kasthamandap. Cooking rice on the North West corner of Kasthamandap was not possible so the community members built a temporary structure out of bricks from the collapsed structure. The offering of alms could not be performed in its initial location due to the fencing of Kasthamandap. Despite all these setbacks, *guthi* members celebrated the almsgiving festival with great vigour. Members of the *guthis* mentioned how after the earthquake, they were in a dilemma whether to continue with the festivals but the enthusiasm of members of the *guthi* encouraged them to continue with it despite all the hurdles. Continuation of the intangible heritage after the earthquake was important for the *guthi*. *Guthi* members also acknowledged that the festival allowed them to reconnect with other members of the *guthis* after the earthquake.



Figure 6. Worship of the rice to be offered to the priests (left) and rice being offered to the priests of Bajracharya and Shakya caste (right) (Source: Impact! Productions)

The second *guthi* is Sa Guthi which consists of 27 members of Jyapu caste living in Bhimsensthan tole of core Kathmandu. This *guthi* performs an annual flag hoisting festival at Kasthamandap. Initially the event took place over six days but now it has reduced to two days due to the lack of interest shown by the younger generation to continue with the rituals needed to be performed over six days. This festival is a great example of the camaraderie between different castes of *Newar* community. Different activities take place in two days which are performed by different castes. On the first day, a cow is bought from a city on the outskirts of Kathmandu and kept in the house of eldest member of the *guthi*. A stove is built on site to cook fodder for the cow. This is unique as 32 bricks are used to make the stove and the wheat for the cow also must measure 32 *pathi*, 32 *mana* and 32 *mutthi* according to Nepalese metric system. Next day a water vessel is worshipped at the platform located on the North West corner of Kasthamandap by the priests of Karmacharya caste, while the cow is worshipped by the priests of Rajopadhyay caste. The flag on top of the Kasthamandap is hoisted on this day by members of Manandhar caste to the sound of music played by Khadgi caste. A *puja* is performed at the pinnacle where local sweetmeats are offered to gods from all four directions of the roof. Figure 7 shows the fodder being offered to the cow and hoisting of the flag on top of the temporary structure built after the earthquake. According to the members of the *guthi*, this festival has been taking place ever since Kasthamandap was constructed. The amount that is received by the person who climbs and changes the flag has not changed till date. Kasthamandap completely collapsed in the earthquake so climbing and changing the flag was not possible. However, the government authorities had built a temporary structure to protect the idol and the *guthi* members used this structure to put the flag on top. Also, they changed the location to perform the activities but still completed all the activities of the festival. Members of the *guthi* mentioned how this festival helped community to understand the importance of Kasthamandap and that the reconstruction of it is essential for community. The interview highlighted the significant role that the heritage played in helping the community cope with the disaster and adapt to it despite the destruction of the physical structure.



Figure 7. Fodder being offered to the cow and hoisting of the flag on top of the temporary structure to protect the idol after the earthquake (Source: Bibek Raj Shrestha)

Both Ta Chata Guthi and Sa Guthi acknowledged the role heritage played after the earthquake and how it is important to highlight its role in bringing communities together after the earthquake. Both *guthis* have kept the festivals associated with Kasthmandap alive even if the structure itself collapsed. This highlights the importance of heritage in a post-disaster setting.

## 6. Discussion and Conclusion

There is limited research about the implications of heritage for the recovery and redevelopment of sites damaged by a natural disaster. This paper attempts to fill this gap by focusing on heritage after the earthquake in Nepal. Our findings indicate that cultural heritage provided the primary framework for making sense of and responding to the earthquake. According to the participants, role of heritage in the redevelopment of the site ranked high with homeowners and stakeholders of both Kathmandu and Lalitpur. Stakeholder interviews also stressed about the role of heritage especially intangible heritage such as festivals and processions in helping communities to cope with the uncertainties and challenges posed by the earthquake.

Participants agreed that heritage helped them to reconnect with the community members and maintain the social and cultural values after the earthquake. The socio-religious activities that communities perform everyday along with the festivals and processions that take place in the site helped communities to reconnect with other members of community. The 2015 earthquake was a traumatic experience for the people of Nepal, and it had a disastrous impact on people's socio-economic condition as well as the environment. Even with all these difficulties community members continued with their daily rituals, celebrated the annual festivals and participated vigorously in all the cultural activities. Immediately after the earthquake most of the festivals could have been cancelled due to the traumatic experience of the disaster. However, community wanted to make changes to the festivals rather than cancel the festivals. Participants mentioned how they were willing to make changes to their culture to continue with it. This could be seen in the daily worship of the gods and goddesses even after the total collapse of the temples, celebration of the annual festivals in the narrow alleyways even with the obstruction caused by the support structures and just the daily activities that took place in the public spaces that have the remnants of the earthquake. The adaptation of their practices, activities and rituals after the earthquake to ensure its continuity emphasises the importance of heritage. This also helped maintain the social and cultural values of the site.

This study also highlights the important role *guthis* play in the heritage conservation. *Guthis* are important not only for the conservation of heritage in the valley but also to speed up the decisions made during an emergency. The continuation of rituals and festivals by *guthis* of Kasthamandap show that *guthis* now need to move from a tokenistic participation to a more empowered role.

Despite its clear importance, cultural heritage continues to be overlooked when thinking about disaster management for historic cities. Cultural heritage is often seen as a burden rather an asset. However, findings from the Kathmandu Valley unfold important insights that cultural heritage should rank highly in the post-disaster recovery and redevelopment phase. There must be an explicit acknowledgement of the way heritage can help community. Natural disasters will occur and continue to affect cities all over the world. The important aspect to understand is how we can mitigate the impact and assist communities after the disaster. Cultural heritage can be a valuable resource in achieving both. The evidence generated from the research can assist in the disaster management system of the cities in terms of recognising the role of heritage in a post-disaster setting.

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# Strategy to Prevent Violent Conflicts and Fragility in the Cross-Border Areas of Ethiopia and Kenya

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## Abstract

Violent conflict and fragility are the major challenges in the cross-border areas of most African countries, especially on the cross-border areas of Ethiopia and Kenya. This vast and fragile cross-border area has been a herd of instability: remote from the respective centres (Nairobi and Addis Ababa). It is characterized by a poorly-developed physical infrastructure, human and armed trafficking, low literacy, and high poverty levels. All the development indices in this area are significantly lower than the national averages of Ethiopia and Kenya. Access to essential services such as clean water, adequate health facilities and electricity remains a challenge. Pastoralism is the dominant economic activity, and the main source of livelihood for most of the population in this cross-border area, which has been marked by violent conflict, marginalization and poverty. The result of these challenges is forced migration, fragility and long-term instability, which compound humanitarian and development situation. There is, therefore, a need for a comprehensive, multi-dimensional and integrated approach to these challenges. The Ethiopia-Kenya Cross-Border area-based and integrated Programme does exactly that.

**Keywords:** Cross-Border Cooperation, Conflict, Fragility, Livelihood, Ethiopia, Kenya, Area-Based Programme

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<sup>1</sup>The views expressed here are the author's own and not necessarily of the United Nations

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## 1. Introduction

Multiple crises and pressing challenges impede economic and human development on the African continent, especially in the wider Horn of Africa (HOA) region, which covers Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan. The region has experienced robust economic growth, a situation that is projected to persist in the coming years. According to African Development Bank (AfDB), economic growth in the region is expected to remain buoyant, reaching an average of 5.9 per cent in 2018, and 6.1 per cent by 2019 (AfDB, 2018). Some of the factors behind this robust economic growth are increased private consumption and manufacturing, especially in Kenya, and investments in public infrastructure in Djibouti and Ethiopia. Some countries have also made remarkable progress in improving human development outcomes, as demonstrated in their success with the SDGs. Despite this progress and sustained impressive economic growth, there is a need to ensure that this growth is inclusive and that it translates into jobs to enhance standards of living.

Considerable social-development challenges persist, especially poverty and inequality (ECA, 2015). These challenges, if not properly addressed, are a recipe for disasters such as violent conflict and radicalization. Therefore, the best way to prevent these societies from descending into crisis, including, but not limited to, violent conflict, is to ensure they are resilient by investing in inclusive and sustainable development (World Bank, 2018).

Natural resource discovery in the Horn of Africa holds great promise. However, there are potential risks for conflict and civil war if proper national and collaborative cross-border governance is not strengthened, and if institutional mechanisms are not put in place to guarantee transparency and accountability, and equitable distribution of the benefits of natural resource extraction. As infrastructural development and extractive industries begin to thrive, resources such as land, revenue from mining, and water, become increasingly contested.

Similarly, the region's human resource endowment is both an asset and a liability. While the growing and young population has an obvious potential demographic dividend, lack of opportunities and political exclusion is fuelling disaffection, youth radicalization, and, arguably, irregular migration. Factors that inhibit development include violent and protracted conflicts; climate risks and environmental degradation; poor governance; political and economic marginalization evidenced by persistent poverty, discrimination along gender and ethnic lines, protracted displacement, and, increasingly, insecurity associated with the operation of transnational organized crime and terrorist groups.

Countries in the region exhibit great internal disparities in terms of access to natural resources, infrastructure, and service provision. At the same time, the 'footprint' of the state is concentrated at the centre and dissipates at the periphery. Communities who live in border regions are, often, spatially and politically marginalized from the decision-making centres and the capital cities. They also lag in terms of social and economic development. These disparities contribute to heightened vulnerability in peripheral areas, which host large populations, leading to protracted displacement, environmental shocks, and food insecurity. Disputes over borders (e.g. the recent border tension between Kenya and Somalia) and internal ethnic conflicts, as well as socioeconomic disparities, also undermine regional stability (Institute for Security Studies, 2012).

Most conflicts often cross-national boundaries. They are fuelled by contested boundaries, water, energy and mineral resources. Growing competition for, and conflict over, the use and management of resources in border areas, such as pasture and water, lakes and rivers, among other resources, highlight the need for cross-border and area-based development strategies and cooperation. Weak governed border areas provide fertile grounds for radicalization and recruitment of disaffected youth and illicit activities, including the trafficking of drugs, people and weapons, which threaten peace and development in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa.

In many ways, movement in the region is exacerbated by the 'geography of marginalization' and porous borders. People move from rural to urban areas due to the push-and-pull factors and weak rural-urban linkages. They end up in slums because the weak industries in the Horn of Africa cannot absorb and provide them with employment

opportunities (Yuen & Kumssa, 2010). Some of them migrate to Europe or other developed countries using any means available to them. As they flee conflicts and disasters, trekking across porous borders, they often find themselves in protracted displacement situations along the border areas. With limited prospects, a situation further exacerbated by hostile hosts, some of them continue in search of better prospects elsewhere, but their problems do not end here. Some seek illegal means to migrate to Europe, the Gulf or South Africa. While in transit, they are targeted by traffickers and smugglers who exploit their vulnerability and capitalize on the weak border management (IOM, 2015). Pastoralists also regularly cross borders in search of grazing lands and water, fuelling localized conflicts over scarce resources. Movements in the Horn of Africa (HoA) are dominated by forced displacement. With over 8.7 million displaced persons, which include over 6.5 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and about 2.2 million refugees (UNHCR/World Bank, 2015), the region is host to numerous refugees and IDPs. These figures exclude pastoralists on the move and those displaced across borders due to natural and human-made disasters, besides development projects. The majority of those displaced are women and children, resulting in many female-headed households. Refugees in the region are concentrated in underdeveloped and periphery areas of the host states. Most of the displacement situations in the HoA have lasted for over 20 years. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan have been the major centres of human displacement (UNHCR/World Bank, 2015).

The Ethiopia-Kenya cross-border programme was initiated to address these challenges. It aims to reduce vulnerability and increase the resilience of communities affected by conflict and climate-induced migration in the border region by building their capacity and identifying and promoting sustainable livelihood projects and conflict management strategies. It also aims at enhancing economic growth through transformative programmes that include infrastructure development, industrial and agricultural/livestock development projects, and the development of health and educational facilities. The programme will also address the challenges of illegal migration, including human trafficking. This is important because the migration of thousands of African youth, who are often exposed to the danger of drowning in the Mediterranean, is fuelled by poverty or conflict at home, and lured by the prospects of a good life in Europe and beyond (UNCTAD, 2018).

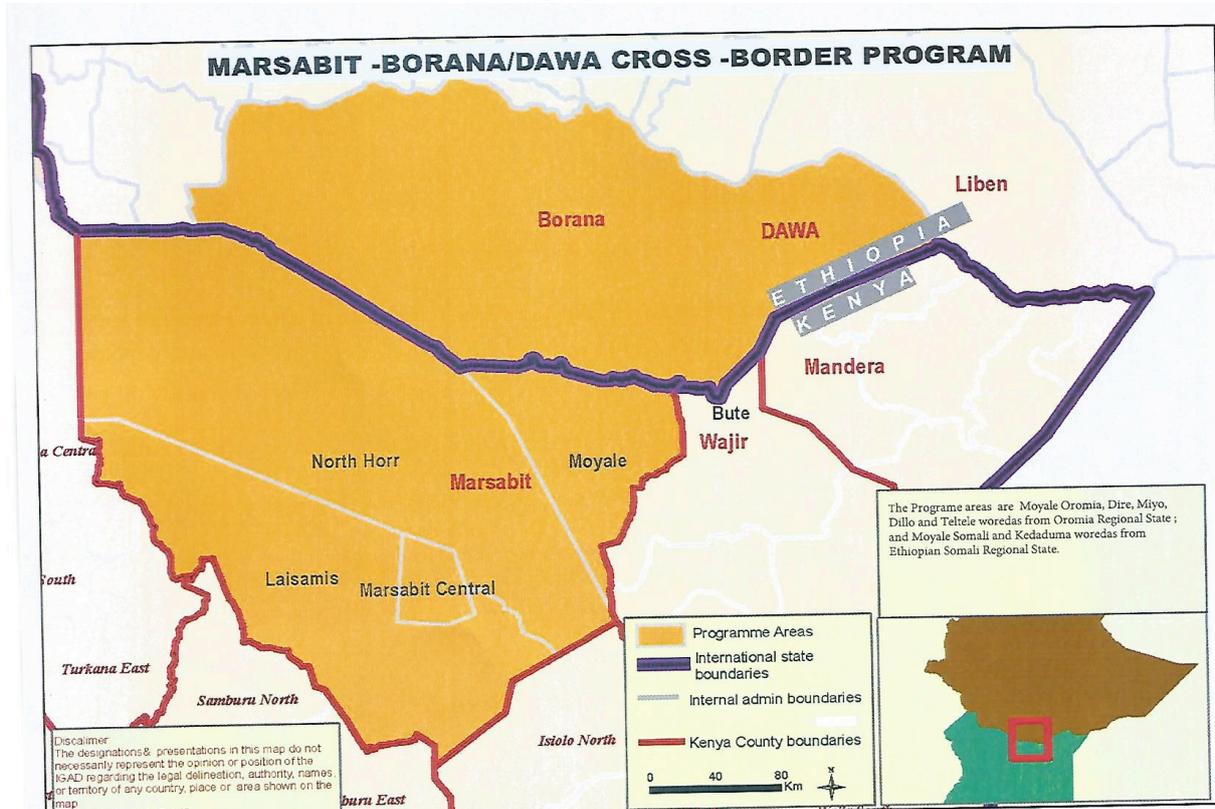
## **2. Background**

Kenya and Ethiopia share a large porous border straddling a length of 861 kilometers that traverses Marsabit, Mandera, Turkana and Wajir Counties on the Kenyan side, and Borana, Dawa and Omo zones on the Ethiopian side. On the Kenyan side, Marsabit County shares a longer border with Ethiopia, with Borana zone also sharing a long border with Kenya compared to Dawa and Omo zones. Nomadic pastoralist communities, the Borana, Gabbra, and Garri, among others, live on both sides of the border. These communities are primarily pastoralists whose livelihood is mainly based on livestock keeping. During dry seasons, these communities move with their livestock within the region as well as across the Ethiopia-Kenya border as pastoralists often do not recognize official and international boundaries. These inter-regional and cross-border movements frequently lead to conflicts over scarce water and pasture. Consequently, in these border regions, many households have been displaced from their original settlements due to conflicts arising from clashes over scarce resources (pasture and water); cattle rustling and inter-communal and boundary disputes.

Like other border regions, both the Marsabit County and the Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia are relatively underdeveloped compared to other regions in their respective countries. To address the problem of underdevelopment, poverty, conflict, regional and social inequalities, Ethiopia and Kenya embarked on a devolved system of governance that is expected to provide equal opportunities to all citizens by creating conditions to encourage their input in their respective countries' governance. The Governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, the UN Country Teams and IGAD have also come together to jointly lead a cross-border and area-based programme/initiative for Marsabit County and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia aimed at reducing conflict, strengthening social cohesion and bringing sustainable peace and development to the region.

The overall goal of the programme is to transform the region into a prosperous, peaceful and resilient community through prevention of conflict, capacity building programmes and the creation of alternative livelihoods. It also aims at boosting cross-border trade to reduce poverty, inequality, low education levels and health facilities. Unemployment, especially among the youth, and sustainable and effective utilization of the resources of the region, are other targets of the programme.

### *The programme area*



The programme was launched by the President of Kenya, H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta; the former Prime Minister of Ethiopia, H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn; and the IGAD Executive Secretary, Ambassador Mahboub; on 7 December 2015 in the border town of Moyale.

The objective of this programme is in line with the initiative of the former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, World Bank Group (WBG) President, and senior representatives of the African Union (AU), European Union (EU), African Development Bank (AfDB) and Islamic Development Bank (IsDB). The initiative was launched during their joint trip to the region in October 2014 (World Bank, et. al. 2016). The initiative aims at boosting economic growth, reduce poverty and promote business activities in the Horn of Africa through, among others, cross-border cooperation.

Strengthening cross-border cooperation between Marsabit and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia will have several advantages for both countries, including, but not limited to:

- Bringing together the communities on both sides of the border and transforming the border region into a viable development area;
- Creating opportunities for (a) trade, investment and tourism; (b) use and effective management of natural resources; (c) improved infrastructure; (d) cross-border movement of people; and (e) promoting peacebuilding and conflict management initiatives that are crucial for socio-economic development;

- Transforming the border regions from being “barriers” and converting them into a "bridge" to give communities on both sides of the border opportunities for better cooperation, and bridge isolation gaps to improve livelihoods and socioeconomic conditions;
- Curbing human trafficking and the illegal smuggling of arms;
- Effectively managing and conserving their resources, and strengthening their cultural understanding and trust that ultimately brings about sustainable peace and development;
- Initiating innovative strategies for the prevention and mitigation of conflicts, crime, smuggling of drugs, and economic transformation limitations faced by cross-border communities.

### **3. Challenges and Fragility of the Cross-Border area**

#### **3.1. Poverty**

This cross-border area is characterized by a high level of poverty, poorly developed physical infrastructure, and low school enrolment rates combined with low literacy levels, and poor education indicators. All the development indices in this cross-border area are much lower than the national averages of the respective countries. The population is largely mobile, and their movement is not confined to one country but transcends international boundaries into Ethiopia and vice versa. These inter-regional and cross-border movements often lead to conflicts over water and pasture.

All the development indices in this cross-border area are much lower than the national averages of the respective countries. Statistics available, for example, indicate that Marsabit County’s poverty level is estimated at 83.2 Per cent compared with the national level at 39 Per cent as of 2012 (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918). The literacy rate and gross primary school enrolment rates for Marsabit County, for example, are only 30 per cent and 43 per cent, (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918) respectively, while the literacy rate for the Borana zone is slightly over 10 per cent, (Government of Ethiopia, 2012). The school infrastructure is inadequate and sparsely distributed, with distances covered to get to a school too long for most children. Latrines are also a huge problem as the latrine to pupil ratio stands at 1:41 for boys, and 1:31 for girls. Besides, the pupil-teacher ratio stands at 1:42 in primary schools (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918).

An estimated 56 per cent of the Borana pastoral households in southern Ethiopia are dynamically poor (Wassie, 2005), which refers to a poverty trap condition that requires external interventions. The poverty level in Marsabit County is 83 per cent. Access to basic services such as clean water, adequate health facilities and electricity remains a challenge. Over 60 per cent of households in Marsabit use boreholes, springs and open wells as their main source of water. Only four per cent of these households has piped water. Sanitation is equally poor – only 34 per cent of households have a latrine. Majority of community members defecate in the open. Malaria/fever accounts for nearly 45 per cent of morbidity and mortality in the County, and under-one-year immunization coverage stands at 63.6 Per cent. In Marsabit, only 36 per cent of births is delivered in health facilities. Given the strong cultural and religious practices in the region, penetration of contraceptives is low at 8.3 Per cent among married women (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 1918).

Human poverty in the regions co-exists with a rich store of natural wealth and biodiversity, which includes livestock, wildlife, forests, pasture, minerals, and medicinal plants that are critical to the lives of the people. In these borderland areas, prolonged underinvestment in basic public facilities such as education, health, security, roads, etc. has exposed the communities to vulnerability and external shocks such as the recurrent drought and inter-communal conflicts. The youthful population, poverty, inadequate water supply, recurrent droughts and the resulting land degradation create natural resource-based conflicts, among others.

### 3.2. *Violent Conflict*

It is a fact that conflict stands directly in the way of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which stress the crucial role peace, justice and security plays in their achievement. SDG 16, "***Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions***," emphasizes the centrality of promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for achieving sustainable development goals. This is important given the fact that by 2030, about half of the world's poor are expected to live in fragile and conflict-affected settings (Esiri, 2017). Violent conflicts have adverse effects on the macroeconomic growth of a country and socioeconomic development of communities living in the peripheries through decreased investment, trade and productivity. It is estimated that conflict will reduce real GDP by 15 to 20 per cent over five years as opposed to a no-conflict scenario (IMF, 2019). These widespread conflicts impose an enormous cost not only on the countries where they occur but also on their neighbouring countries, which often end up bearing the cost of hosting refugees, who cross into their borders in search for a haven. This exerts considerable economic and environmental stress on the host countries. Violent conflicts over the distribution of resources and political power have hindered social integration and diverted attention and resources from economic development to conflict management (Kumssa, et. al. 2014).

The target region faces major challenges in terms of disputes and a series of inter-communal conflicts witnessed over the years. Most of these conflicts are either over resources (pasture and water), demarcated boundaries, or are politically instigated. This has led to massacres and huge losses of property among the affected individuals and communities. For instance, the clash between the Garri and Borana that erupted on 25th July 2012 in Moyale, Ethiopia, forced more than 20,000 people to flee to Kenya (Life & Peace Institute, 2017).

The burning of villages and properties disrupted business activities and caused the closure of the border between the two countries for about a week. Similarly, the political and ethnic conflict that erupted between the coalition of Rendille, Gabbra and Burji (REGABU) communities and the Borana in Kenya during the run-up to the December 2013 General Elections displaced about 30,000 people and led to a loss of lives and property (KRAZYINSIDEKENYA, 2013). The REGABU coalition won all the major political seats, leaving Borana with only one seat in Moyale. Out of an estimated 80,550 people living in Moyale constituency, 53,968 people (approx. 67 Per cent) were displaced (Reliefweb, 2013). The conflict between the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and Ethiopian security forces also occasionally spilled into Kenya, resulting in casualties on the Kenyan side occasioned by clan or communal affiliations between communities living in both Kenya and Ethiopia.

Moyale has experienced disproportionately higher incidences of both internal and external (cross-border) conflicts. On 13th December 2018, in Moyale, Ethiopian side, about 20 people were killed and over about 100 people injured in just three days. They were taken to the sub-county Hospital of Takaba, Mandera, Kenya where they were treated (MSF, 2018). According to Addis Standard, on 17th December 2018, a deadly shooting, which took place inside Bekele Molla Hotel in Moyale city, Ethiopia, claimed the lives of at least a dozen civilians. According to some sources, the incident happened during talks between regional security forces, representatives of the two warring factions of the Borana and Garri, and members of the federal army on handing over the city's security from regional forces to the federal army (EthioExplorer.com, 2018).

Moyale is a hotbed of perpetual ethnic clashes between the various pastoralist communities living in the border areas. These conflicts often spill over from one country to another. However, what makes the recent conflict between the Borana and Garri communities in Ethiopia extremely disturbing is its magnitude and the use of heavy artillery/weapons by both sides, unlike in the past, and the regionalization of the conflict.

It is important to note that the causes and patterns of the cross-border conflict are complex and intertwined with ethnicity and environmental degradation. This leads to competition over scarce resources, and an influx of illicit arms from neighbouring countries, inadequate institutional arrangements and approaches to conflicts and poor governance, and political incitement. Other causes include the inadequate capacity to deliver inclusive basic services, the collapse of traditional governance systems, and a high unemployment rate. In May 2019, eleven

people were killed in North Horr Constituency, Marsabit County, Kenya; two people were wounded, and another four reported missing under mysterious circumstances (Walter, 2019).

Despite these challenges, there are opportunities for attaining sustainable peace and development in the region. The détente between Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia, the emerging rapprochement between Djibouti and Eritrea, and the revitalized peace agreement in South Sudan, have increased confidence in regional solutions to regional problems. A new narrative of compromise, cooperation, and economic complementarity is emerging in the region (United Nations, 2019). This new regional cooperation initiative for peace and development in the Horn of Africa was launched by His Excellency Dr. Abiy Ahmed, the Prime Minister of Ethiopia. It addresses the escalating regional and local boundary disputes, resource-based conflicts, particularly in cross-border areas, and other historical injustices by involving community institutions and creating peace forums and strengthening local institutions that deal with peace and security in the region.

This approach is important since experience has shown that peace agreements founded on traditional systems and mediated by local and traditional institutions across regional borders with the support of the States, civil societies and international organizations have the most legitimacy and the highest chances of success. Some of these living successful experiences include the cross-border peace initiatives along the Kenya-Ethiopia Border popularly known as *Maikona* and *Madogashe Declarations* (University of Nairobi, 2013).

It is also important to recognize that conflicts in the region are complex and protracted, and often spill over into national borders. Therefore, responses to these conflicts must be comprehensive and multi-dimensional (United Nations, 2019).

### ***3.3 Diminishing Role and Power of Traditional Institutions***

Both the Borana and Gabbra communities across the national borders have very strong traditional institutions with powers over several issues in the community. Amongst the Borana, the *Gada* system regulates grazing patterns, watering points and inter-communal relations in the border region. The same can be said of the *Yaa* among the Gabbra, which bestows these cross-border communities with a powerful traditional governance system that has regulated inter-communal relations for a long time (Kumssa, et. al., 2011). This indigenous and traditional institutional systems govern the mobility of herders and their livestock, including across the international border, maintains and restores collaboration among clans and ethnic groups, and provides a framework for managing disputes and conflict (Pavanello & Levine, 2011).

However, over the years, the powers of these traditional institutions have been eroded by the advent of formal governance systems, state intervention, religion and other factors. The cumulative result has been the inability of these institutions to effectively address intra- and inter-communal conflicts in the border region, hence the frequent conflicts along the Kenya-Ethiopia border. There is, therefore, a need to revise and strengthen traditional governance and resource management systems; and improve the land tenure system, and equitably and fairly demarcate administrative boundaries, which are often contentious and conflict-prone.

### ***3.4. Lack of Local Institutional Capacity***

Border controls in this area are so weak that, oftentimes, in some areas, peace is maintained more by the traditional interaction between pastoralist groups than by the presence of state machinery. Nevertheless, to address these challenges, several efforts have been made in the past by state and non-state actors. The Ethiopian and Kenyan Governments signed a Special Status Agreement in 2012 to strengthen relations between the two countries to form a new partnership based on mutual benefit and cooperation. The Agreement aims at promoting and encouraging bilateral ties in all major priority areas such as trade, investment, infrastructure and sustainable development, and peace and security. This agreement aims to reduce poverty, address conflicts in the border areas, and transform the economies of both countries (Kenya London News, 2014).

In December 2015, the governments of Ethiopia and Kenya, in partnership with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and United Nations initiated the current integrated and area-based cross-border programme to foster peace and sustainable development in the Marsabit County of Kenya and Borana/Dawa Zones of Ethiopia. Following the launch of the programme, the project document was signed by the representatives of the two governments on 22 June 2017 in Nairobi, Kenya.

Besides, IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) has supported several cross-border initiatives, including putting up cross-border livestock markets in Isiolo (Kenya) and Magado (Ethiopia). This programme will synergize with other ongoing programmes to add value to sustainable peace and improved livelihood and cross-border cooperation processes.

The European Union has also launched a multi-million project titled “*Collaboration in Cross-Border Areas of the Horn of Africa Region*”. The project aims to prevent and mitigate the impact of local conflict in the borderland areas, and to promote economic development and greater resilience through investments in conflict management and resolution capacities. It also seeks to enhance and diversify livelihoods, including livestock, agriculture and fisheries; strengthening basic service delivery; natural resource management; and promoting cross-border trade and private sector development (EU, 2016).

### **5.5 Youth Unemployment and Marginalization**

With increasing insecurity and inter-ethnic conflicts, small arms have become essential household assets. Mostly, the youth are the ones who carry and use these deadly weapons to demonstrate their heroism by raiding and killing members of other communities. In the context of this region, youth participation in conflicts is mainly driven by a combination of cultural values and beliefs such as cattle rustling for economic gain or killing members of other groups considered to be “enemies.” Youth are used by various interest groups to secure their respective interests. These interest groups range from elders, politicians, women and other youth. Their interests range from economic, such as cattle rustling, to social, such as passage rights to qualify for marriage. In the past, the attacks were carried out by the youth to obtain bride-wealth for a wife, or as a rite of passage. However, today, the attacks or raids are carried out for profit and commercial purposes.

Although cattle raiding among the pastoralist community had been a common socio-cultural practice in the past, it was controlled by both the elders and traditional values. Elders have been vanguards of peace and custodians of norms and values. In this regard, they are highly respected and play a crucial role in conflict resolution and management. However, with the diminishing role of the traditional governance system, cattle raiding has spiralled out of control, becoming extremely destructive and commercialized (Kumssa, et. al. 2011) Moreover, the proliferation of small arms from conflict-ridden neighbouring countries has made cattle raiding a deadly and destructive practice. Also, youth unemployment and marginalization increase the risk of radicalization of this important group by enticing them to join terrorist groups.

### **2.6. Gender Issues**

Due to socially and culturally constructed roles and responsibilities of women, their participation in decision-making in political, economic and social sphere has been significantly low. In this region, there are few women and youth involved in leadership and decision-making processes at the grassroots level. The preference of boys over girls is also high, which leads to limited opportunities for girls in terms of access to education, skills training and wealth acquisition. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is also very common in Marsabit County. Besides, most women peace builders lack adequate knowledge and skills due to a dearth of training opportunities. Women suffer most from conflict and they rarely participate in formal peace negotiations; and they suffer disproportionately due to systematic rape and sexual violence; greater levels of displacement and presence in refugee camps where mortality rates tend to be higher; and social and economic vulnerability, due in large part to loss of access to sources of livelihood (in particular, agricultural systems) and to basic services (Njambi & Misiani, 2016).

### **3.7. Cross-border Migration**

Migration through the Marsabit-Moyale border frequently takes irregular forms such as human trafficking, or entry into the region without proper authorization or documentation. Although many migrants travel legally, there has been marked human trafficking, with Moyale acting as a crossing point for Ethiopian refugees en-route to South Africa, which has been one of the destinations of Ethiopian migrants fleeing political and economic crisis at home. Immigrants from Ethiopia constitute one of the largest groups in South Africa. For example, according to Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), cited by Africa Check, 65,000 refugees and 230,000 asylum seekers were registered in South Africa in 2014, and their main countries of origin are indicated as Ethiopia, Somalia, the DRC and Angola (Migration Policy Institute, 2015). Irregular migration has become a worrying phenomenon in regional insecurity. For example, in the recent past, many Ethiopian immigrants have been arrested along the Moyale - Marsabit road on their way to Nairobi en route to South Africa. To address this problem, special attention should be placed on strengthening state security institutions, border control, community policing; and encouraging governments to adopt proper national and regional migration policies and legislation. It is critical to foster community involvement in border management and ensure that security responses to cross-border conflict and transnational threats do not compromise human rights or unduly inhibit the free movement of people, which underpins pastoral livelihoods and the economy of the Marsabit-Borana-Dawa transboundary area. Improved interactions between local populations and law enforcement also serve the latter by allowing police to tap local the knowledge to understand the terrain, nature, and dimensions of security threats.

### **3.8. Climate Change, and Environmental Degradation**

Climate change induced erratic rains, combined with the worst El Niño phenomenon of the past 50 years, have recently wreaked havoc on the pastoral and arid and semi-arid regions of Kenya and Ethiopia. Erratic rain patterns and prolonged drought have resulted in a decline in the availability of water and quantity and quality of forage. Thus, waterholes and rivers have dried up, leading to widespread crop failures and migration of people, thereby triggering the migration of pastoral communities and increasing the risk of family separation and conflict over scarce resources. According to a UNOCHA report of 2017, 12.8 million people in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda require humanitarian assistance. The same Report indicates that the crisis has disrupted the education of approximately 1.5 million and 1.2 million children in Ethiopia and Kenya, respectively (Reliefweb, 2017).

Vast numbers of people in the region move across-borders and beyond in search of safety, food, pasture, water and livelihood opportunities. Migration through perilous routes exposes the already vulnerable pastoral communities to numerous risks, hence the urgent need to consider policy and investment options in addressing these issues, considering the delicate balance of maintaining pastoralists' mobility and lifestyle vis-à-vis environmental conservation, population growth and state security. Pastoralism is the dominant economic activity and the main source of livelihood for most of the population in the arid and semi-arid regions of Kenya and Ethiopia. It is, however, highly vulnerable to climatic extremes such as drought; and poor natural resource management. As extreme weather conditions, such as drought, exert their toll on food security, conflict over resources such as water and pasture are likely to escalate, as evidenced by the recent conflict in Laikipia, Baringo, Kajiado, Samburu, and Taita Taveta Counties of Kenya.

## **4. Theory of Change**

The theory of change is a social theory and methodology used to achieve transformative change through proper planning, coherent and causal relationships. It is about making choices among alternative and effective ways of achieving specified objectives or goals through what a programme or change initiative does (its activities or interventions) and how these lead to desired, realistic and achievable goals. In this regard, the theory of change for this programme can be framed as follows:

**If** communities in the cross-border area of Marsabit County and Borana Zone are supported and agree on peace-making, and trust building mechanisms are put in place through peace committee members, capacity building programmes, sensitization and cultural exchange programmes and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, thereby increasing trust between the various communities, **then** cross-border and inter-communal conflicts will be reduced, and they would, therefore, be less likely to engage in violent conflict. If further entrenched by dependency and sharing institutional infrastructure, social services, co-existence will be peaceful, durable and productive.

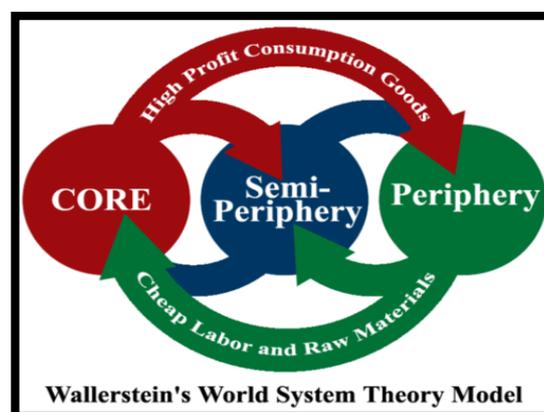
Shrinking economic opportunities for the people and competition over scarce resources is perhaps the most obvious cause of violent conflict in the region. Given the fact that animal rearing is the main source of income, competition over access to scarce natural resources such as pasture and water has contributed to violence among pastoralist communities. These scarce resources are being increasingly contested due to climate change and population growth. **If** the socioeconomic conditions of the communities living in the region are improved through alternative livelihoods, **then** communities will build ties around these livelihood projects, leverage efficient use and maintenance of community infrastructure, and cooperate to better access and utilize available natural resources rather than fight each other because of them.

## 5. Strategies of the Programme

The project has adopted an integrated approach to permanently transform the situation by managing conflicts, marginalization and poverty through comprehensive strategies that build on resilience and improved livelihoods. The strategies aim to replace fragmented approaches with coordinated interventions that foster effective stakeholder collaboration between the governments, the private sector, the civil society, and development partners. The integrated approach brings together regional, multilateral and bilateral partners to address the challenges of historically neglected and marginalized regions and groups.

By emphasizing on inclusive development and a conflict prevention approach, the framework also helps to galvanize the civil society, the youth and women groups to restore dignity, foster social cohesion and provide an alternative vision for the communities in the cross-border areas of the Horn of Africa (HoA).

The programme also emphasizes a positive state presence, supporting and building the capacity of security forces and local governments and communities on a cross-border basis, including developing early warning and response systems for human-made and natural disasters. It is based on the premise that improved cross-border cooperation creates opportunities for the safe movement of people, enhanced trade, investment and tourism, shared use and effective management of natural resources, conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and investments in improved infrastructure and services. Compared to the hinterland areas, the cross-border regions are socially and economically marginalized. The socioeconomic conditions of the cross-border regions could be best explained within the “Centre/Core-periphery” model where the core regions are relatively developed compared to the peripheries.



Source: Kendall Moyer. (2016). Periphery Role in the World Systems Theory

Decades of marginalization, climate-induced drought, poverty, youth unemployment, violent conflict, among others, contributed to the high level of poverty in the border regions of the two countries. There is a lack of income-generating opportunities, particularly for the youth who migrate to Middle Eastern countries and Europe. In this regard, this programme will focus on skills development for the youth and creation of economic opportunities through the facilitation of access to credit and technical vocational and education training.

The programme will adopt an area-based development approach, extending support services to the population of the target area rather than focusing on any particular sector or group, while at the same time strengthening inclusive local governance arrangements. In the context of transboundary areas, this means working with communities and authorities on both sides of the border; in the context of large-scale displacement by targeting host communities and the displaced alike.

The programme will work with local authorities, community groups and traditional leaders as this promises to have a more tangible impact in building resilience and consolidating peace in the short-term. Strengthening the capacity of national institutions to respond to dynamic challenges at the local level (and in remote border areas) is a medium to long-term endeavour. Given the severe challenges many communities face, interventions to improve people's ability to achieve their basic needs must be a priority. These interventions will be designed to seize and build on existing opportunities in the region to affect transformative, structural changes.

Based on the initial assessments undertaken during the inception period, the challenges remain valid, and the proposed actions are still as relevant as they were during the initial design of this programme.

### **5.1. Baseline Survey**

The programme seeks to contribute to the mitigation and prevention of violent conflict and promotion of peaceful coexistence in the Ethiopia-Kenya Cross Border area through the advancement of an evidence-based approach to understanding conflict (Toktomushev, Kemel, 2017). In this regard, the programme employed participatory action research to understand the dynamics of conflict in the cross-border area and identify the root causes and impacts of conflict; and also identify possible factors or stakeholders that could contribute to sustainable peace in the region.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies were used to address the specific objectives of the study. The rationale for the quantitative approach is to enable quantification of the degree of impact of conflict across key target groups. This will increase the possibility of making limited generalizations and increase the validity and reliability of the research findings. Face-to-face survey questionnaires were administered to capture the various responses from participants. Face-to-face interviews enable prompt collection of data. This method of data collection also allows clarification of complex or sensitive issues and enables the researcher to probe and verify complex concepts. Further, this method has high response rates.

The qualitative approach was used to complement the quantitative method. The strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to provide a complex textual description of people's experiences in a natural setting. By going directly to the social phenomenon under study and observing it, the researcher gains comprehensive insight and a deeper and fuller understanding of the phenomenon. Data gathering techniques typically used in qualitative research, namely; Observation, Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), were employed.

A baseline survey was planned through a Participatory Action Research (PAR) and GIS analysis in the Dawa Zone of Ethiopia since a similar exercise had already been carried out in Marsabit County and the Borana Zone of Ethiopia. Unfortunately, due to the violent conflict that erupted, and the huge security risks along the Ethiopian corridor extending from Hageremarim-Yabelo-Borana and in Dawa Zones, (Pastoralist Foundation for Poverty Reduction, 2018). The PAR and GIS exercise was not undertaken and, therefore, it was postponed to a later phase of the project. The purpose of the baseline survey is to produce an evidence-based comparative analysis. In this

regard, the PAR Will help stakeholders to understand the causes, drivers, dynamics, and impacts of conflict as well as tools for bringing sustainable peace. The PAR will identify the socioeconomic challenges and opportunities in the region to enable policymakers to make informed decisions when designing relevant intervention policies. On the other hand, a GIS exercise will map the spatial data in the region to enable the stakeholders to understand the spatial distribution of resources, as well as the available infrastructural facilities, migratory routes of the pastoralists, etc.

Marsabit is prone to intermittent conflicts, which have negatively impacted the resident communities, resulting in increased unemployment, widespread poverty, suspicion, hatred and animosity among the various ethnic communities in the area. Other negative impacts include radicalization of the youth, the proliferation of small arms and illegal immigration, balkanization and exclusiveness of certain communities in politics and economic opportunities, and the general underdevelopment of the region. Although there have been concerted conflict resolution efforts by various stakeholders, none has so far been effective.

This study recommends the following for Marsabit County:

- 1) County and national governments to allocate more resources to facilitate the various peace initiatives in the county.
- 2) Accelerate completion of infrastructure projects to attract and enhance various economic and development activities.
- 3) Support equitable resource and opportunities sharing in the county.
- 4) Enhance continuous consultative political meetings among political leaders from the different ethnic groups.
- 5) Enhance collaborative policy frameworks on cross-border activities along the Kenya-Ethiopia border, especially in security surveillance systems.
- 6) Develop more integrated educational institutions to allow communities to share learning facilities and learn to co-exist.
- 7) Facilitate an effective land adjudication process for clear boundaries between communities.
- 8) Develop value addition facilities in the livestock development sector to enable the export of animal products.
- 9) Sink more boreholes to avert conflict over water.
- 10) Enhance efforts to develop available natural resources, such as the readily available stones for the construction industry.
- 11) Allocate resources for youth development in areas such as sports, trade, micro enterprises and cultural activities.
- 12) Support and strengthen the capacity of peace committees.
- 13) Revive and strengthen traditional conflict resolution mechanisms (United Nations, 2016).

For the Borana Zone, the research established that livestock was the main source of livelihood in the region (courtesy of trade in animal products such as milk and milk products, hides and skins, etc.). This was followed by small businesses and some form of agribusiness and farming. Other sources of livelihood were formal employment, relief food, mining and transport activities. The main sources of conflict are land issues, politics and poor governance, tribalism, hatred or negative ethnicity, scarcity of resources such as water and pastures, cattle rustling, business rivalry, corruption, ignorance, and secret killings. The conflict has evolved from traditional cattle rustling and confrontation in rural areas to the use of heavy weapons in urban centres, and burning of houses, schools and government buildings; and the destruction of property, leading to male and female fatalities.

The study recommended the following:

- (a) Federal and regional governments should allocate more resources to introduce and facilitate various peace initiatives to benefit communities in the localities;
- (b) Curb illegal cross-border trade by reducing customs duty on goods from either side of the border and make it easy for locals to acquire proper documents to do small and medium businesses across the border;

- (c) Promote investments by providing capital (seed-money or revolving fund) to the youth and women for business start-ups and set up light industrial parks that use locally-produced raw materials to bring industries closer to the people; for example, the area needs a big slaughterhouse to not only produce leather products but also process meat. Investors can also establish a milk-processing factory to produce cheese, yogurt, dried milk, ice cream and other milk products;
- (d) Promote tourism by opening curio markets, build a museum, establish parks and promote cultural and sporting festivities such as the Camel Derby in Maralal, Samburu, Kenya;
- (e) Establish guidelines to ensure proper exploration and utilization of natural resources such as irrigation from rivers to improve farming; and to seek markets for minerals locally, regionally and internationally since they are available in the rangelands;
- (f) Ensure proper budgeting for the exploitation of natural resources in the region; set up a "Tree Planting Day" to help conserve the environment and protect natural resources such as wild animals and tourist attraction sites;
- (g) Create a peaceful and enabling environment by improving infrastructure to attract investors, tarmac all the major roads to facilitate movement and access to social amenities, make all the feeder roads motorable (all-weather), reduce electricity connection fees in the rural parts of the region, improve power generation and increase grid for banks, schools and businesses that rely on electricity, improve telecommunications infrastructure and engage the local NGOs and international development partners in the area in infrastructural development;
- (h) The Federal government should form an "Integrated Peace Commission" to investigate and address the causes of conflict in Kenya and Ethiopia to be more effective in resolving cross-border conflicts and enhance better collaboration. This should also promote a good working relationship between the Federal and Regional Governments.
- (i) Engage the locals in joint campaign initiatives against cross-border conflict, strengthen the existing cross-border committees to help them achieve their mission, speed up processing of permits and documentation for cross-border movement, enact cross-border laws and enforce stiff penalties on anyone from either country that contravenes the set laws, formulate appropriate policies related to cross-border movement, improve the relations between the two immigration departments, and conduct proper documentation of persons in both countries (United Nations, 2016).

GIS has been used to collect and map the spatial data on both sides of the border for the stakeholders to understand the spatial distribution of resources as well as available infrastructural facilities.

The GIS mapping identified the conflict hotspots, which include Dilo, Forolle, Dukana, Moyale, Sololo and others. The mapping also indicated the existence of more schools on the Ethiopian side compared to the Kenyan side. On the other hand, there are more medical facilities on the Kenyan side compared to the Ethiopian side. The GIS maps also highlighted the migration route of the pastoralists, which is important in tracking their movement (United Nations, 2016).

## **6. Impact of the Programme**

One of the major achievements of the programme is the opening of the Marsabit/Moyale Cluster office on Moyale, Ethiopian side. Following protracted security and logistical challenges, the United Nations Department of Security and Safety (UNDSS) did a thorough assessment of the Office premises and approved staff deployment. The office will strengthen the project with the presence of the project management unit in the field and ensure effective implementation of appropriate conflict prevention policies and livelihood projects to address the needs of the local communities. Courtesy of the new Marsabit/Moyale Cluster office, the programme is now operational.

Following several consultative dialogues between the local communities, which reduced conflict and bolstered confidence, it is estimated that 98.8 Per cent of those displaced by violent conflict in Dawa Zone have returned to their original communities. In Moyale District, 94 per cent of the displaced communities had returned to their original villages (Government of Ethiopia, 2019).

The programme has brought to the attention of the policymakers the fact that sustainable peace can only be achieved through a comprehensive and multidimensional approach that links conflict to natural resource management and poverty, factors that are inextricably linked.

According to the Marsabit County Commissioner, since the various forum and dialogues were held, relative peace has prevailed in the Marsabit County and incidents of violent conflict have gone down by about 85 per cent (Marsabit County Government, Kenya, 2018), although, recently, inter-ethnic conflicts and killings have resurfaced in the border areas of Ethiopia and Kenya.

## 7. Summary and Conclusion

There is a growing recognition of the need to transform the border regions from "barriers" to a "bridge." This will give communities on both sides of the border opportunities for (a) better cooperation in breaking their isolation; (b) improve their livelihood, and socio-economic conditions; (c) effectively manage and conserve their resources; and (d) strengthen their cultural understanding and trust to bring about sustainable peace and development.

On the other hand, if not planned for and managed properly, cross-border relations could increase conflicts, violent extremism, the proliferation of small arms, human and drug trafficking and general instability, leading to loss of lives and property, and exacerbating a humanitarian crisis.

The Ethiopia-Kenya Cross-Border Programme was initiated to support the local governments of Borana/Dawa Zones, Ethiopia and Marsabit County, Kenya, to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts efficiently and effectively; and enhancing the capacity of international cross-border conflict management. In this regard, the programme has simultaneously addressed violent extremism, human trafficking, economic development, local governance and inter-communal peace, with mutually reinforcing objectives and means. It is now offered as a global model of best practice (MacClinchy, 2018).

The programme has three separate but interrelated and complementary phases, namely:

- Immediate emergency response;
- Building the foundation for resilience; and
- Initiation and implementation of sustainable development projects.

The programme has great potential for replication across other parts of Africa that seek to bring about sustainable peace and development in marginalized cross-border areas by addressing violent conflicts and improving livelihoods.

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# Society and Individual in the Early Nishida Philosophy

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## Abstract

This study aims on clarifying a relational structure of society and individual in the philosophy of Kitaro Nishida, especially focusing on his early work titled “Society and Individual” (first published in 1922). In Taisho era, when Japan was under crisis of human survivability challenged by political and economic disturbances after the World War, natural disasters and prevailing poverty in transitional democratization and capitalisation, ‘society’ became one of the focal topic among scholars. On the other hand, the past criticisms stirred against Nishida before and after the World War II have found a main problem of Nishida philosophy in a scarcity of “process” description between individuality and absolute nothingness in his absolute dialectical logic. This exploration investigates the notion of ‘society’ in the early Nishida’s philosophy, which depicts society and individual as a fractal structure, accepting plurality of subjects and constant confliction among meanings and wills. Through demarcating the sense of ‘society,’ the author attempts to spot a light on the misunderstandings in the past criticisms against Nishida and on his unique perspective of society and individual in the modernizing period of Japan.

**Keywords:** Nishida Kitaro, Japanese Philosophy, Kyoto-School, Nishida Philosophy

## Introduction

This thesis elucidates a relation between “society” and “individual” in the early Nishida philosophy with his works written in Meiji and early Taisho period, especially drawing on “Society and Individual” (*Syakai to Kojin*, released in “*Philosophy Study vol. 73*” (April, 1922) and later in one of his compilation works, “*Art and Morality*” (*Geijutsu to Doutoku*, 1923).

During lifetime in establishing his own philosophy, Nishida had received many criticisms which had common inclination. For instance, Miki Kiyoshi indicated Nishida’s philosophy “did not sufficiently discuss from the standpoint of practical time and the meaning of process of dialectic, therefore is weakened“ in his ”Property of Nishida Philosophy” (*Nishida Tetsugaku no Seikaku ni tsuite*, 1936, Miki: 10-410-413<sup>1</sup>), and on this issue, Yoshitomo Takeuchi also pointed out that Nishida’s key concepts, Absolute Nothingness, and reflection, cannot directly produce any action and practice even with Nishida’s unique concept of “Action-Intuition” (Takeuchi, 1978: 33). Therefore, both “Absolute Nothingness” and “Action-Intuition” is nothing more than meditational concepts (Miyakawa, 1962:310), and the punctuated perspective of “Eternal Presence” has no reality in the actual world (Makino, 1953: 147).

These critical comments assert that Nishida's logic of "Self-Identity of Absolute Contradiction" (*Zettai Mujiyun teki Jiko-Douitsu*) between individual and absolute nothingness lacks the description for its "process" (Suzuki, 1973: 28). He did not sufficiently establish how self-reflection in transcendental place can have its relation with external world (Suzuki, 1967: 76, 83, 124), after all, ending up abstractive discourses (Kume, 1999: 129, 134, 148, 183), having "no concrete content with a simplest logic" (1967: 233). Among these severe criticisms, we recall the biggest opponent for Nishida was his one of his closest pupils, Hajime Tanabe.<sup>ii</sup> Tanabe also tried to establish his original logic through an examination of 'social existence,' as seen in the title symbolically named "*Logics of Social Existence*" (released during 1934-1935). The reason Tanabe focused the concept of society seems quite penetrable since the process between individual and absolute world lies on an intermediation of 'society.' It is obvious that individual (the part) is to be social existence (role) when it is grasped in relation with society (species). Tanabe stated:

Logic which attributes the relation between totality and individuality to the one between universality and diversity considers an individual as a limit of specification from universality and attempts conversely to apprehend the totality as the expansion of the individual. According to this logic, the society as totality, as the collective of individuals, and as its factors, does not take it into account such principle that confliction and resistance made by individuals<sup>iii</sup>.

The above quote clarifies Tanabe's perspective on society, challenging Nishida Philosophy. On the other hand, Nishida surely have the counter arguments on such criticism either. We can find it in his notebook (No date recorded), the scribble states "We always start from "place", never from obscure logic" (Nishida: 13-456)<sup>iv</sup> v.

The several criticisms against Nishida, as we just have seen above, apparently lack a sufficient analysis of society and individual in Nishida philosophy. The later part of this thesis analyzes how Nishida described society and individual in his early works.

### 1. The background of 'society' conception in Meiji-Taisho era

Yanabu (1982: 32-39), an eminent researcher of translation culture, expounds that there were no words equal to English "society" in Japanese until Meiji era, instead such as "communication" (*kousai*), "fellow" (*nakama*), "bunch" (*renchu*), "association" (*kumi*), "public" (*zokkan*), "company" or "circle" (*syachu*) were used.<sup>vi</sup> "Society" made its appearance for the first time in general Japanese public in 1875, merely five years after Nishida's birth (1870), when Genichiro Fukuchi used it with ruby in a newspaper called *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, whereas, in the same year, Yukichi Fukuzawa translated it into "*Ningen Kousai*" which directly means "human interaction" in English.

Therefore, during Meiji era, the concept of society was still on a transitional phase where Japanese intellectuals were attempting to import western notion of society by harnessing it to the Japanese notion of "relations" and "communication." Taisho era was the period when society delineates its term after the so-called "discovery of society" (Fukuda, 1922), as being well-known due to consecutive disasters, epitome by the World War, rice riots in 1918, Great Kanto earthquake of 1923, crisis brought by poverty. Human survivability had been demarcating the term "society" with severe experiences in daily life of the people. And it had been gradually recognized as a stage of class-confliction. In 1922, Nishida wrote the thesis named "Society and Individual," endorsing a fact that he also pay his concern on discerning 'society' in his own philosophy. For the sense of which today's Japanese "Society" (*Shakai*) is defined in dictionary as it follows.

A collective of people which appears in that individuals gather together to live communally and the human relations as a whole forms a particular outline. It is also an inclusive term of the collection of communities, forming a complex whole. Some are generated naturally, and others are artificially formed based on a common interest or purpose. (Shinmura, 2009:1294)

According to the above definition, the term "society" flexibly indicates social phenomena of "human relations" with a particular outline from certain perspective<sup>vii</sup>. From the sense of "human relations and interaction," the

concept society connotes a relation between "others and self." Nishida actually used, for instance, "society" paralleled with "others," as seen in "do Just for others or society" (Nishida: 3-408), or in "Others and society are both as existence..." (Nishida: 3-409)<sup>viii</sup>.

Besides, Nishida emphasized that both "others" and "society" are concepts, which perceived by an individual subject. In other words, society itself is not a real object, nor subjective consciousness itself. Therefore, "my consciousness is not consciousness of the others, and both consciousness is not directly linked together (Nishida: 3-404). Both "I" and "others" share society as the objective world but are separated. Hence, "society" is the objective concept of "Human relations," "just like monads of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716)". Nishida frequently quoted from Leibniz, as "others and I have only one reality without windows." From this point, we can realize that Nishida concerns that how individuals with closed system of consciousness are able to establish social relation.

The thesis "Society and Individual," beside, depicts a linkage between art and moral world and it's interrelation, which is mainly based on a metaphysical understanding of "*the Problem of Consciousness*" (1920) (*Sheki no Monday*). The book was published just before "*Art and Morality*," but strangely, these books were not examined very well before up until this day. It is worth to note, however, that Masaaki Koussaka found some seeds of philosophical inspiration in Nishida's later development in these early works<sup>ix</sup>. Most notably, Koussaka indicated, "Individual's personality itself is seen as a small society, and this perspective is fundamental to "I and Thou" (*Watashi to Nanji*). The fact, of this concept, can be found in the thesis is quite compelling<sup>x</sup>. In next section, we examine the implications proposed by Nishida in the works.

## 2. Self and Consciousness in "Society and Individual"

Nishida commences "Society and Individual" by proposing an ethical issue which arises between society and individual: "So-called society and individual are same psychological existence as an imagination from the world of intellectual objectiveness." From a view of "eternal presence of self which transcend time," "we can describe the difference between society and individual as the difference in size between a big circle and small circle on same field" (Nishida: 3-392-393). This statement is extremely important since it serves as a summary of the discussion. We will look into the detail of this remark.

First, Nishida describes the relation between self and consciousness in "*the Problem of Consciousness*" (*Ishiki ni tsuite*): "Transcendental self... transcends our consciousness and constructs the deep foundation of our consciousness" (Nishida: 3-148-149). In the thesis, we can also find the discourse below.

The specificity of "self" is in that it includes generality. Our-self is transcendental in that it engulfs any objective world within itself and enters into itself deeply and infinitely. Thus, the actual self includes general consciousness. This may appear to be a logical contradiction, but it actually is the condition for the establishment of our consciousness and also the essence of self. There is no life in generality detached from specificity, nor is there life in specificity detached from generality. (Nishida: 3-396)

Here, he means that "self" transcendently "engulfs any objective world" in individual consciousness, so it is a concrete "self" and also "the condition for the establishment of our consciousness." "Self" does not close itself completely in specificity, but has a window to the external worlds through objectification of things and phenomenon in past, therefore is able to recognize them in its self-consciousness. "Eternal presence of self which transcends time" is self that contains "general consciousness" of which the individual gains through experiencing reality in continuity of time. In addition, the present consciousness is formed from infinite past<sup>xi</sup>. The consciousness always is the unified present consciousness as "an active effect itself." In the thesis, "Society and Individual," Nishida denotes "from the perspective of actual self, the objective world is to be a subjective effect directly, and the subjective effect becomes also the objective world" (Nishida: 3-395). In other words, our individual "I" consists of general consciousness is constituted through a historical interaction with the objective world. And at the deepest bottom, we find "transcendental self" in this objectivity. Along with this way, "self is a

nexus of relations of many phenomena in our consciousness, and when we see someone has consciousness, the phenomena in the world are unified at that particular point" (Nishida: 3-9). Nishida describes this process of unification with "effect on effect" made by "self," engulfing generality in the world as "internal connection."

"Self" that Nishida mentions here is not merely transcendental in the way that achieves a historical "internal connection." In the background of our daily life, there are compositions of the "contents of one's thought." And "the world of thought's objectives has the content of personality behind itself" (Nishida: 3-393). This concept of "content of personality" implies an existence of other's thought, emotion, and social consciousness behind things and thoughts. As it is, others who we come across in our life also connect each other and unify things and phenomena in individual consciousness. For further understandings, "A study of good" (*Zen no Kenkyu*), his first work in 1911, mentions "internal connection" as it follows:

As if an individual consciousness, as stated above, is directly unified with yesterday's consciousness and today's consciousness, establishing the existence. Our lifelong consciousness can also be seen as one consciousness. As we discuss this way, we can discern that not only within the realm of an individual's consciousness but consciousness with others also can be unified according to the same reason and can be seen as one. ("A Study of Good," Part 2 Chapter 6 "Unique Existence," Nishida: 1-75)

This sentence emphasizes that "internal connection" in our consciousness transcends "individual consciousness" that reaches "consciousness with others" and forms one unified consciousness. Hence, individual consciousness has countless existence of other's consciousness possessing personalities behind things and phenomena we come across and negotiate with them through our experiences. Our consciousness cannot establish itself in solitude, but in social interaction<sup>xii</sup>.

In this discussion, our "self" having two different directions towards transcendence. One way is to transcend historically toward inside ourselves. Another way is to socially toward others. Nishida finds the internal connection and unification of "self" in both directions commonly in essence. However, he demands more persuasive explanation for the word "transcendence." He admits that individual consciousness exists separately in the actual society (Nishida: 3-399) as we already confirmed. He posits "moral will" with the quotation of Kant's "*Reich der Zwecke*" (Kingdom of purpose) for this reason. We look into this point in next section.

### 3. Society of Moral Will

As we have seen in the previous section, our consciousness is a unified point of varieties of objective worlds. However, it does not only mean a mere "collection of elements." We need to pay attention to his usage of "unification," instead of "collection"<sup>xiii</sup>. Otherwise, we fail to find humanistic meaning behind the phenomenon of objective world in Nishida's discussion.

He argues the fact that our united consciousness is "one" in the sense of "*Ta-soku-Ichi*" (one is equal to many, many to one)" (Nishida: 3-400). However, it does not mean that individual consciousness is made of fragmented passive experiences. He, then, posits "will" as a factor to unify the experiences into "one." The "will" unifies a variety of meanings in consciousness and produces "personality" and "individuality." (Nishida uses "transcendental causality" (*Transzendente Kausalitat*), apparently drawing on Kant, for this explanation (Nishida: 3-401)<sup>xiv</sup>. Hence, every individual hold "will"<sup>xv</sup> in this sense.

"Absolute free will," at the bottom side of individuals, demands "moral a priori" because individual consciousness conveys countless others' consciousness in its meanings. Our consciousness is unified into one by will, and we take an action to leave an effect in the objective world (effect on effect). In addition, we are affected by objects through experiences as they reorganize themselves in our consciousness as the parts of their indefinite dynamism. Thus, "our consciousness has a connection with other's in the direction toward generality" (Nishida: 3-406).

Within our consciousness, the relation among numerous thoughts of mind generates new relation itself: We have many "other (s)," meanings of their thought and emotion, as a result, self is "a network of transition of internal

meanings and facts itself." Therefore, self with free will is not subjective but "subjectum" (*syutai*), which contains a sense of the most objectified subjective will. From this respect, 'self' exists in the will-action itself (Nishida: 3-149)<sup>xvi</sup>: Nishida is apparently drawing on 'Tathandlung,' Fichte 1762-1814.

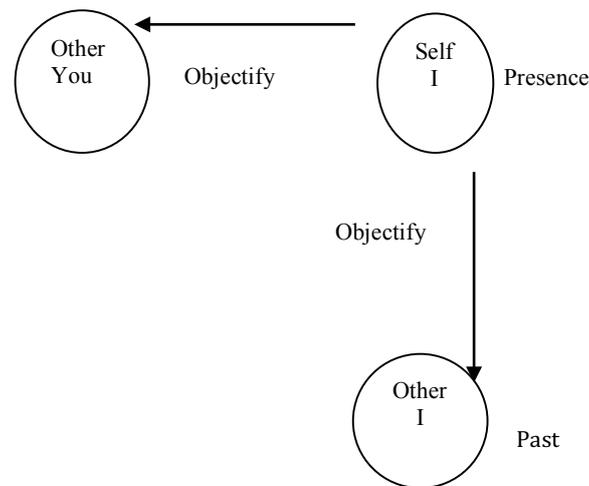
As seen below, Nishida also notes the relation between individuality and infinite effects with an analogy for individual and society.

Our consciousness is established in the form of self-awareness as a framework of self-inside of itself, and there is a synergy effect made by contrasting and connecting independent individuals each other with the free will. In this meaning, individual is society and society is individual. (Nishida: 3-407)

Here, "self-awareness" indicates the reflective moment of self-consciousness, which is unified by free will. While this momentum effect makes mutual contrast against infinite effect with the thought-emotion (i.e., meaning) of countless others, our consciousness connects with them by judging their meanings. This process is hinged by self-awareness. From the point of such self-awareness, our consciousness is regarded as society because it also consists of countless other individuals in itself and "society" is analogous to "individual" in this regard. This analogical relation of society and individual clarifies how Nishida considers the implication of the moral society a priori in relation to individual consciousness. Moral a priori produces free will in its foundation of consciousness, which comprises of moral relations among individuals (society). It already has the internal connection and creates unique individuality. Thus, it is deemed that we can find a society inside of us.

#### 4. Society and Individual

Picture 1: Structure of Individual and Other



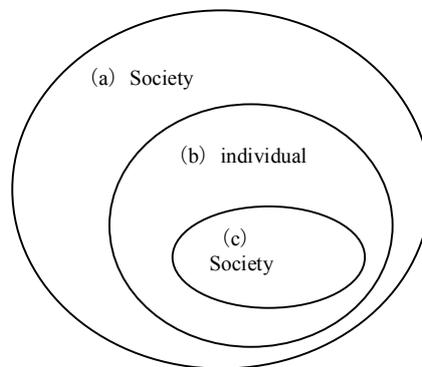
The concept of "society," as the internal moral relation inside of individual, has its basis in the foundation of consciousness. According to Nishida, since "the self, as I think about myself, is the same as other selves since they are not distinguishable in being the object of thought for me" (Nishida: 3-395). Along with this idea, it is possible to find myself and other selves in objective sphere of consciousness at the same dimension. When the self is "thought" by myself, the internal relationship of subjective and objective worlds emerges in individual consciousness. "Generally speaking, morality only exists in the relation between I and Thou (*Watashi to Nanji*), but I dare to say also in I and I." Here, Nishida implies dialogue between other and I in past and I in presence as seen below:

I have responsibility to others and also to myself. We have responsibility to our ancestors in the past and descendants in the future and additionally selves in present must have responsibility to the selves in both past and future. (Nishida: 3-397)

This quote acculates "myself in present" and "myself as a thought about myself" is equal to "myself in the past and future" also have the same personal relationship with others and I. Nishida finds a moral relation between both dimension of 'other' (myself), vice versa. In the passage of time from the past to present, we experience facts as objects which affect our subjectivity through the unifying effect of will, and in the end, we take an action to express it, conveying a particular meaning to the external world. We become "*Hataraku Mono*" = "subjectum" and creates objective world for the others in the future. Our consciousness which has one of the two aspects of "subjectum," "seeing (*mirumono*) and working (*hatarakumono*)" and same as "Each effect we create, also has relation between you and I" (Nishida: 3-404). He spotlights here is the relation of self and society both within an individual and society at the same time, i.e., inside of us and outside of us<sup>xvii</sup>.

As seen the above, Nishida finds "moral society"<sup>xviii</sup> "in the foundation of self-consciousness" (Nishida: 3-404).<sup>xix</sup> Self in both present and past has moral relations, also the relation is connected to other in "moral society" inside of self-awareness.

Picture 2: Structure of Individual and Society



With this description for society and individual, we can tell the reason why Nishida expresses it with "the difference between society and individual is the difference in size between a big circle and small circle on same field." It can be described with the fractal structure (Picture2; left). As seen, Individual (b) has self-awareness in the internal consciousness with "(moral) society" (c) and these individuals with unification by free will also form a bigger "(moral) society"(a) the outside of individual. On this regard, Nishida remarks:

We find an internal connection at the bottom of self-awareness, and at the same time, forming objective world composed of independent free-self and moral society outside. The latter society is just expanded from the former society (Nishida: 3-405).

As here clearly mentioned, therefore, an individual shown in the above figure (b) as "independent free-self" is formed by "society" (c) inside and also forms "society" (a) outside of it. There is no difference in the shape as historical expansion of same "effect on effect." By thinking in this way, 'on the same field' means the presence of time which combines individual and society, and internal connection between individual societies can be expressed in same shape of circle. Nishida also expresses "You may think it is difficult to assume social organization in the bottom of so-called individual consciousness," however, "here is no big difference between them" (Nishida: 3-398). For this reason, society and individual is equivalent in the "circle" with different size.

Still, we need to confirm how Nishida thinks on the outline of society and individual because each circle ought to have a distinguishable demarcation. As we already confirmed in section 1, we generally use the term, 'society' very flexibly as a group of individuals. Beside, a certain outline should give a sense of "society" as well<sup>xx</sup>. In the next section, we confirm how Nishida draws such outline to "society."

## 5. Society and Body

In a chapter named 'Contents of Emotion and Will' which was compiled in the book "*Art and Morality*", Nishida tells "It may be arduous for many to accept the idea regarding the moral society as an expression of reason (*logos*) and comparing it with arts", but "society is an imperfect body of great spirits" (Nishida: 3-326).

Why does he consider "society" as "imperfect body"? According to Nishida, art is "a creation of individuality," and "our cultural phenomenon is the same creation of individuality like art, i.e., the expression of life. Every national language, manners, customs, institutions, law, and myth, etc... are the same expression of this great spirit" (Nishida: 3-324-325). The difference between art and "cultural phenomenon" is in that the former is "static," and the latter is "dynamic." Hence, the subjectivity of society creates "cultural phenomenon" as the society of individualities that engulfs the objects in the present world and develops itself actively. This dynamism is the only point which differentiates "cultural phenomenon" from art. Actually, we know "language," for instance, has been changing in transition of time in our society and we create new one constantly. In other words, social consciousness actively creates new words. "Law" has also been created and modified in the society as same way of language. "Social phenomenon" is changing actively like an individual is.

A concept of "body," however, is not specifically featured in the book, "*Art and Morality*." We can find a few remarks on it in the thesis "Truth and Good", in which he writes: In body, subjectivity and objectivity are internally connected and "interacting the world of intellectual objectivity and objectivity of will", thus, "the body, conjoined by a priori of will" is "a nexus of many kinds of worlds". "Body is a condition for the establishment of self" (Nishida: 3-543). As seen these remarks, we can rightly postulate that with the word "body" Nishida attempted to bestow society its outline as the great individual.

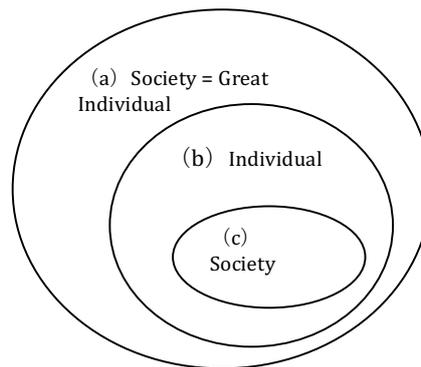
The aforementioned society is an "imperfect body," changing actively and infinitely. In other words, inside of society has frictions and confrontation of each individual in its dynamism. Social phenomenon, such as language and law, is historical "effect on effect" produced by subjectivity of individuals. And it has never reached objective "perfection," because it can be effected (changed) by other individual subjectivities, staying in imperfection. If we imagine "perfect body" of society, it may be just a dead corpse of society without progress<sup>xxi</sup>. Nishida also mentions in 'Law and Moral', within a piece of writings in "*Art and Morality*", that "Morality anchored to a particular society" is "a life of spirit" and same as "nature in the world of purposes", and "it is formed not only inevitably by the internal system but also changed by outside of the world", therefore "there is the principle of the survival of the fittest in moral world" (Nishida: 3-507). As far as following Nishida's discourse, the particular existence of "morality" (or other social consciousness/ spirits) survives along with the outline of "imperfect body," also the society as "a nexus of many kinds of worlds" (i.e., imperfect body). Nishida denotes on this point as below:

Like individual consciousness confronts each other at the present point and creates new individual contents through it, the society develops as many kinds of social consciousness confront and fight each other within individual consciousness. When one thought and emotion play a central role in main content of individual creating effects, same as in society, one individual plays a creative role as a cross point of social thought and emotion. (Nishida: 3-408)

Society develops in analogical way with individual consciousness through "confronting and fighting each other." Each of them plays a central role in creating effects on both individual and society. Many individuals form the outline of society produce creative effect as "effect on effect" (Nishida: 3-408), and society (re) produces the culture as its shape.

Social consciousness/spirit, is as same as individual, has a moment of self-awareness which creates facts and actions at the same time (*Ji soku Gyo*), and it has a value of expression of "great individuality" (Nishida: 3-409). These statements in the early Nishida philosophy posits that society has "great individuality" with "imperfect body" as "great individual."

Picture 3: Structure of Individual and Society



In summary, the society and individual has the fractal structure unifying and wrapping each other. (Moral) Society (c) in individual (b) creates individuality, and individuals in society gather to form a bigger circle of society (a) as a “great individual” (picture 3). This is the answer to the first question of Nishida's expression of "the difference between society and individual is the difference in size between a big circle and small circle on same field."

### Conclusion

Looking back to the critics toward Nishida philosophy, the tendency indicate the disadvantages of scarcity in description regarding "process." This "process" can be seen in both space and time. Kiyoshi Miki, who inherited a view of "individual and society" as the concept of "Social Body" (*syakai tekishintai*) from Nishida<sup>xxii</sup>, proposed "process" in time, describing "the status of human existence" by dividing it into three concepts of "environment, situation, and crisis" in his later uncompleted work "*Philosophical Anthropology*" (*Tetsugaku teki Ningengaku*) (Miki: 18-265). On this point, Nishida held on his perspective on time, "eternal presence," to explain "will," as seen in the aforementioned, which negates the perspective of "objectification." For Nishida, analyzing process of time like Miki does is equivalent to ignore such a problem of "objectification", since all of the process is snapshotted from the present self (subjective), is the past grasped with meaning and value from the view of presence, therefore failing to capture a concrete reality of our life. In other words, for Nishida, any aspects of "environment, situation and crisis" are something considered by someone's subjectivity.

As we can see in the introduction of this paper, Tanabe tried to approach toward 'process' in space, contrary to Miki, by establishing his original logic of "social existence" as "the logic of species"<sup>xxiii</sup>. We have carefully confirmed this until now by quoting Nishida's early works that he does not need "process" in space from the same view of Tanabe's critic does because society and individual have the fractal structure with the common logic of existence in Nishida. Through the whole philosophical life, it is able to acknowledge that Nishida concentrated on establishment of a fundamental logic in human existence by just describing individual and absolute nothingness. It concludes that the concepts like "Absolute Nothingness" (*zettai mu*) or "Self-Identity of Absolute Contradiction" (*zettai mujyun teki jikodouitsu*), can be applied for both individual and social existence according to the finding of this exploration. Most of the previous research has missed this regard<sup>xxiv</sup>.

Nishida describes in the earliest work, *A Study of Good*<sup>xxv</sup> That "social consciousness" as "a living existence," regarding society and nation as a living being or an organism. "Social consciousness has the same organic system as individuals do like organs and connections." "But individual has a body as its foundation, and it is different from social consciousness, but brain is not a simple physical material but an organ composed of collective cells." Similarly, "society is composed of individuals as a collective of cells" (Nishida: 1-160). Even in his first book, we can find an implication of latter "an imperfect body" of society.

The perspective to society and individual in Nishida's philosophy reminds us of "the organismic theory of the state." The theory is "to regard a society as a living organism and explain social structure and action with analogical affinity of them" (Hayashi, 1971: 643), and it appeared in the 19 century. Herbert Spencer (1820-1902) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) are famous advocators of this theory, spreading over Meiji era of Japan, the theory was accepted widely by the academism. Jiro Kamishima, who was under an influence of Masao Maruyama and Kunio Yanagida, wrote "when describing a society as a human body, the ruler is a brain and others are organs of body (like hand and foot), and the structure indicates an absolute authority of the ruler. That's why it had kept being ingrained into an ideology of Japanese emperor system after Meiji era" (Kamishima, 1961: 12-13). Thus, the theory assumes society (whole) is stronger than individuals (the part) (Hiromatsu, 1998: 698).

However, in Nishida philosophy, society does not have such superiority to individual. Since free will, which is explained by "transcendental causality," penetrates individual and society to create a unique personalities and individualities. Individual (the part) has a (the whole) society its inside, and both have an internal relation with each other, empowering creativity (*souzou*).

Nishida clearly mentions: "for something is related to a whole, we must think the part has the whole inside of it" (Nishida: 3-229), and this sentence clearly indicates the fractal structure of society and individual. This society (whole) is developed by self-realizations of individual (the part), and in this sense, society is "one which expects countless individualizations," as a great individual moment of many-one (*Ta soku Ichi*). Individuals with uniqueness fight each other and then a society creatively makes progress through dialectic creation of individualities. "Individual is not simply part but must have relations with a whole inside of it" ("About concept of individual" (*kotai gainen*) in the book of "*the Problem of Consciousness*", Nishida: 3-229)<sup>xxvi</sup> And this relation of the part and the whole<sup>xxvii</sup> give a characteristic meaning to "society and individual" unlike the typical "organismic theory of the state." Here is the brief summary of his intention in "A study of good": "The society makes progress when individuals in the society accomplish self-realization. It is not natural society when it ignores individuals" (Nishida: 3-158).

Lastly, the concept of "body" should have a meaning of "physical existence" as a fundamental reality of "action" in general. At the early stage of Nishida philosophy, however, Nishida mentioned it exclusively from a view of consciousness, leaving the task to deepen the sense which was developed in his middle-later works, represented by his unique concept of "Action-intuition" (*kouji teki chokkan*) especially discussed in "*Logic and Life*", after receiving critics from Tanabe.

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<sup>i</sup> All quotations of Kiyoshi Miki works in this thesis from, Miki Kiyoshi., 1966-1968. *Collection of Miki Kiyoshi*, Iwanami-syoten, first printed, and indicates volume and page number only in the main text.

<sup>ii</sup> His first critical remark made in *Calling for answer from Professor Nishida* (Nishida sensei no oshie wo aogu, 1930). In this paper, he implied Nishida's discourse sounds "emanation theory" led from "Absolute nothingness," which stands on meditative "resignation" after all. Tanabe also denied Hegel's dialectic in his work named "Hegel philosophy, and it's dialectic" (*Hegel Tetsugaku to Benshouho*) written in the same period as it is derived from the same critical view against simplification. On this regard, See "Logic of Species, selection from Tanabe philosophy," (Syu no Ronri, Tanabe Tetsugaku sen I). Edited by Masakatsu Fujita (2010: 500-501)

<sup>iii</sup> *Ibid*, p15

<sup>iv</sup> All quotations of Kitaro Nishida's works in this thesis are from *Collections of Nishida Kitaro* (Nishida Kitaro Zensyu) old printed, 1950, and indicates its volume and page number only in main text.

<sup>v</sup> He also commented on the preface of *Logic and Life* (Ronri to Seimei) in *Compilation of Philosophy thesis Second* (Tetsugaku ronbunshu 2, Iwanami-syoten. 1937). Written after receiving criticisms from Tanabe as seen below. "I do not think we know we live because we think it, but because we live, so we contemplate it. Life is not such that is just irrational, direct, no-mediator, or else. We surely confirm that our life has the rational mediator, as well as contemplation, moreover, we find an actual truth in our actual life. I believe philosophy stands there" (Nishida: 8-269).

<sup>vi</sup> These words are related to the Japanese feudal culture.

<sup>vii</sup> "Society" is used to implying some concepts that connote not only "organization" but also "village (sonraku)", "municipality (han or ken)", "ethnic" and "nation".

<sup>viii</sup> For references to understand the concepts, "society" and "individual," Hideo Odagiri, 'Self and Environment' (Jiga to Kankyo), 1960, compiled in "History of Modern Japanese Thought" edited by Sei Ito. In addition, Jiro Kamishima, 1961, "Spiritual structure of modern Japan," Toru Miyakawa, 1962, "Philosophy of Modern Japan," both tell us that the concepts of society and individual were imported from the process of western modernization and democratic development. Meiji-Taisho era is the period for Japanese to accept and regenerate its own original concept of "society and individual."

<sup>ix</sup> Kousaki (1996: 112) Kousaka remarked "there are many expressions strongly correlate to his later concept more than most of us think" and these expressions are "just like scattered musical note, keep showing up and disappearing. But these were coming together to become a main lead melody in his later work".

<sup>x</sup> Kousaka, *ibid*, 'Nishida and Modern Issue' (Sensei to Gendai no Mondai), p.129

<sup>xi</sup> We know Nishida's description of this type of consciousness plays an important role in his philosophy even in his first work *A Study of Good*. 1911. In "Existence," the second chapter, in order to clarify "Truth of life in heaven and earth" and "Actual existence," Nishida defines the "fact of intuitive experience as phenomenon of consciousness"(1-48) as his "starting point of study" (Chapter1). He also mentions, "conscious phenomenon is only existence" in the second chapter. Moreover, in "the Problem of Consciousness," things in the world do not exist alone independently from our consciousness. Individual consciousness keeps unifying objective world incessantly.

<sup>xii</sup> Nishida says, "Individual consciousness with no relations with social consciousness is anything but mad man's consciousness" (Nishida: 1-159).

<sup>xiii</sup> Nishida clearly states that "society has ethical value not simply because it is a collective of individual"(Nishida: 3-392). The same thing can be said on individual consciousness. Individual consciousness is not just a collection of accidental elements of experience.

<sup>xiv</sup> According to Nishida, "Transcendental causality" "demands a logical basis of the uniqueness of self," and this is also regarded as the logic of "will." The causality used in natural science finds "common meaning of each phenomenon in the world" through scientific recognition as the collection of experimental facts, but it merely explain "affinity" of data. But an individual has "independent personality" and "unique individuality which we can never find anything same in the world." Individuality comes from our free will and unification made by the effect of will, which is a plurality=one "*Ta-soku-Ichi*." Contrary to the causality of natural science, "Transcendental causality" is the logic of will commonly possessed by individuals and others respectively. He rejects "affinity" to explain "individuality" because it is unique, exists spatiotemporally as only one, and the causality of natural science cannot endorse it logically (Nishida: 3-400). Torataro Shimomura plainly depicted the will in Nishida's works very well, and we can tell why the causality of natural science is not suitable to explain free will in his sentences' "will is something that determines, and nothing determines the will. If something determines the will, the will is not living. Thus the will is never governed by the causality because it produces causality itself. That's why the will must be absolute free will." The free will here is "effect itself," which creates "uniqueness" and bestows it on our personality and individuality. It operates on its own and, therefore, creates the objective world. Thus, "Transcendental causality" is a special logic of causality that explains the free will which transcends individuals in space and time. 'Nishida Philosophy and Japanese Thought' in "*The Collection of Torataro Shimomura*," vol.12, 1990, p.170

<sup>xv</sup> Nishida disputes Neo-Kantianism (Cohen, Windelband, Rickert) in his work, "*Intuition and Reflection in Consciousness*"(Jikaku ni okeru Chokkan to Hansei) with punctuating "absolute free will" in consciousness. Kenjuro Yanagida (1972: 123) remarked "will" can be named "absolute will of the universe" with which "From inorganic to organic matter, the world evolves into conscious-will (with self-awareness and action)," and "it means return to concrete foundation of existence through the diversification and development." (*Nishida philosophy and Materialism* (Nishida Tetsugaku to Yuibuturon)

<sup>xvi</sup> Here we can see a strong influence from "Tathandlung" (*jikou*) which was proposed by Johann Gottlieb Fichte in his remarkable work "*Wissenschaftslehre*" (1794)

<sup>xvii</sup> In this sense, free will obtains a meaning of "moral will" in the process of unification between subjectivity and objectivity; organizing individuality. "Our each action and effect" is a point of relations between facts of experiences and some are unified, and others are discarded by our will in the process of unification. It calls for our positive moral action as "*Ta soku Ichi*," then the action becomes an objective reality for others and society. He also stated: The world organized by moral wills, needless to say, is the world of relation between individuals with free will. Individual can be free only by admitting individual who has freedom of will. This is the moral relation, and we can find it in the foundation inside of self-consciousness (Nishida: 3-397).

<sup>xviii</sup> We can confirm in *The Problem of Consciousness* that Nishida already noted, "an independent individual has infinite and countless relations within itself" (Nishida: 3-116). And it is "independent" because it has uniqueness and individuality. We can find same point in *A Study of Good* that individual consciousness is brought up in the relation with social consciousness. "Self-awareness" is to be aware of the point of attachment with the individual and others, and it then brings the individuality (Nishida calls it "Individual unification"). The moral society is formed by such individualities (Nishida: 3-395).

<sup>xix</sup> In another part, he says "When individual finds within deep inside of him/herself and break through the place," then we can find the "moral world" (Nishida: 3-410)

<sup>31</sup> Social phenomena such as "language, manners, customs, institutions, law, religion, literature, etc."(1-159) is "national culture" and he uses "social form" to describe "family" and "nation"(Nishida: 3-188). These are common wealth of a particular society, and their general consciousness should have its outline.

<sup>xxi</sup> So Nishida also describes "authority" arising in a situation in which "great conscious/spirit" with "great body" of society confronts with individual. Sometimes the authority of society appears in front of us and kills individuals. We can see such situation in an actual society and then we are clearly aware of "body" as outline of society. Nishida also mentioned that, in the situation where social body and individual body are confronting, "A particular individual gets a value of great individuality, sometimes they could be exempted from sacrificing many" (3-409). Inferring from his comment, in actual society, also we face with the realities sometimes in which the diversification of individualities permits certain "sacrifice."

<sup>xxii</sup> Kiyoshi Miki stands on the same viewpoint of Nishida for the concept of society and individual:

As long as the groups and societies which contains many individuals show unification as a whole, it should be regarded as an individual. It is possible to regard a society as an individual. The more perfect unification which essence of individuality becomes, the more diversified the contents it has and society is more exactly appropriate to individual (Miki: 18-363).

<sup>xxiii</sup> Tanabe said "Species have merely relative meaning in the view of the description of conservative classification. So it is limitation for theories and their logics which view species as the model of organism (*ibid*-14).

<sup>xxiv</sup> For instance, Yasuo Yuasa takes up the concept of "body" in Nishida philosophy, recognizing it as "Historical Body" (*rekishi tekishintai*), however, missing the meaning of "society" from the sense of which this essay elucidated; Yuasa (1990: 29-100). Also, Kobayashi (2010: 128) refers to the transition from "individual" to "nation" in the modern Japanese philosophy, but Kobayashi misunderstands that the concept of "body" as "society" was derived originally from Kiyoshi Miki, not Nishida.

<sup>xxv</sup> More accurately saying, Nishida already regards 'society' as 'body' (but in another Japanese, *nikutai*, which has stronger physical nuance than *shintai*) in "*Draft for Ethics*" (Rinrigaku Souan) wrote before the publication of "*A Study of Good*" (Nishida: 13-244-246).

<sup>xxvi</sup> The differences between “Individuality” and “Uniqueness” is explained by Nishida as the former is “only one in the world” and the latter is “a living with free will” (Nishida: 3-121-122, ” The Various Chains of Experience Content”)

<sup>xxvii</sup> In *A Study of Good* we can find the discourse about the whole and the part in the remark: “The relation between God and individual consciousness is the relations between the whole and part. In all spiritual phenomena, each part exists under the control of wholeness while each part is also independent consciousness. (In spiritual phenomenon, each part ends in itself). Everything in the world is expression of one-and-only God does not deny an independence of individual self-awareness” (Nishida: 1-193).



# Development and Behaviour Response of the Balinese Inhabiting in Denpasar City and Badung Regency, Bali- Indonesia

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## Abstract

Vertical Housing is one of the solutions to address decent residential needs in the cities of Denpasar and Badung Regency. With the high demand for houses in Bali up to 2015 according to backlog data that reached more than 200,000 units and an increase in population each year, encouraging the Government and the Balinese Society especially those who are Hindus to prepare themselves to adapt to the presence of Vertical Housing without having to eliminate identity as Balinese people who have beliefs and culture that are reflected in daily behavior. Balinese people who are Hindus with the philosophy of Life *Tri Hita Karana* and all the teachings of the Religion of Hindu concerning the way of life of individuals (*Umah*), family (*Meberaya*), social community (*Mebanjar* / Village) and its obligations, which have norms based on the teachings of Hinduism. In the times of development and the needs of the present, especially the adjustment of how to inhabit a house in the lives of Balinese people who are accustomed to the life of a complete Traditional House or Landed House is an individual territory of a Family to inhabit it. Then if it is caused by a condition that the Balinese people must inhabit the Vertical Housing, then how is the change to occupy it? Can they adapt? These changes will be studied, with the Behavior Tatars theory, so that it can be seen how changes in the behavior of Balinese people in inhabiting and living in Vertical Housing have been built using Prototype Design in Denpasar City and Badung Regency.

**Keywords:** Vertical Housing, How to Occupy, Behavior Change

## INTRODUCTION

### **Background**

The need for housing in Bali Province according to 2015 data ranges from more than 200,000 units. Especially in urban areas, where population growth increases every year, the need for housing in the same year ranges from around 30,000 units, with data on land use conversion averaging nearly 380.9 hectares per year.

The high price of land in the settlement zone in urban areas triggers the development of settlements towards the suburbs. According to the calculation data from the Real Estate management of Indonesia in Bali region, the average land price in Denpasar City and Badung Regency in residential areas ranges from 350 million - 500 million / 100 m<sup>2</sup>. This has led to the limited reach of consumers in owning a home in urban areas, especially for middle-income income workers.

The development of employment in the world of tourism triggered an increase in population especially workers who came from outside the city of Denpasar and Badung regency but still within the territory of Bali Province, from outside Bali and even abroad. The house needs recorded in the data above are based on residents who are native to Bali but will be more increased if the number of temporary residents who also need housing is also included in the list of Home Needs.

The Balinese people with the philosophy of life of *Tri Hita Karana* are very closely related to the norms of Religion, which underlie their activities and beliefs based on Hinduism. Among them are the obligation to carry out the activities of the *Panca Yadnya* as Hindus, which consist of three parts, namely: Philosophy (*Tatwa, Susila*), Ethics and *Upakara (Yadnya)*.

In carrying out these teachings, Balinese people have a structural dependency relationship between individuals and other individuals, with their ancestors, their families, and their environmental communities. This is carried out with a pattern of residing called *Parhyangan, Palemahan, and Pawongan*. These three elements always exist in the translation of Nature (Macrococosmos) and Man (Micros cosmos). The behavior of inhabiting Balinese people in Traditional Houses has been arranged in accordance with the rules of residence according to the norms of Hinduism in each individual activity or group activity, which aims to achieve harmony of life in the community.

Then due to financial needs, they left their original home to work and go to the city town. Vertical housing is one solution to overcome the problem of a lack of available residential housing in urban areas. It became something new in the procedure of inhabiting the habits of the Balinese people. But the pressure of demand demands, like it or not, the Balinese who experience these conditions must prepare themselves to be able to occupy Vertical Housing comfortably, as stated by the Chairperson of the Badung Regency DPRD and Property Entrepreneurs. Currently, in the City of Denpasar and Badung Regency Vertical Housing has been built, which is an institutional facility inhabited by Balinese people. However, this can be used as a reference to conduct a study of how the behavior inhabits Balinese people from their original landed houses to Vertical Housing by using the Behavior Tatars theory to be able to know how these changes occur, and recommend how solutions for future development.

## Literature Review

### A. *Housing and Vertical Housing*

#### 1) *Home for Balinese (Hindu) people*

- a. A house is a building that functions as a place of residence and a means of family development, which accommodates basic human activities and activities in interacting with the environment which is equipped with its infrastructure.

Fig. 1: Home as a place of residence and a means of family development



- b. The home for Balinese Hindus is, in addition to functioning as a house in general, also has a function to carry out Hindu Religious Ritual activities as humans and community members. The house is also part of the *Pawongan* of a village, with its customary structure.

**Fig. 2:** The sketch drawing of a traditional house to support the home for Balinese people



In some western countries, the terminology of the house is distinguished between the House (*House*) and the Home (*Home*). According to *the Oxford Dictionary*, **House** means “a building made for people to live in, usually for one family.” While **Home** is defined as “the place where one lives especially with one family the district or country where one was born or where one was born on where one has lived for a longtime or to which one feels attached.”

In the two definitions above, there are differences in the terminology of Home and House for Balinese people. Home, in addition to accommodating inhabiting activities in the sense of carrying out daily activities such as (bathing, sleeping, eating, cooking, reading, watching and communicating with family members, and communicating with residents of the environment), also functions as a forum for ritual activities (*Panca Yadnya*) through means of communicating with God, especially with their ancestors in the main zone (*Merajan*), communicating with family members and neighbors (*Natah, Tebe* and *Telajakan*) and communicating with the natural environment by means (*Palemahan* with *Bale Banjar*), and the settlement environment through *Kahyangan Tiga, Pawongan* and *Palemahan Desa*. Because of this ritual function, the Balinese have an attachment to their *Umah*, because there are ancestors / historical origins of their families from generation to generation. A home for Balinese people is a center of activity, and wherever he goes or as far as he goes when performing rituals to his ancestors, he will return to his home.

## 2) Vertical Housing in the City

In this study, Vertical Housing is defined as:

Vertical Housing referred to in this study is a group of houses inhabited by individuals and/or nuclear families in housing units arranged horizontally and vertically, equipped with housing facilities and infrastructure in a neighborhood/plots of ownership and well managed. Vertical Housing, according to the type of ownership and management, can be distinguished, among others:

- a. Flats are houses in Vertical Housing whose units can be owned, and infrastructure facilities are managed together with residents of other units on the basis of deliberation, based on government regulations and norms of the local community. In its application, flats are mostly intended for low-income people with cheaper rental prices, of course, the building is relatively simple but livable.
- b. Apartment, is a house on vertical housing, with a varied type of unit but relatively small and limited shared facilities. Ownership of typical units such as leasing systems with a period of 25-30 years, managed by the management in a professional manner and residents are subject to management fees. Apartments tend to be a commodity of trade, and facilities tend to be more representative than Flats.

- c. Condominium, is a house in Vertical Housing whose unit resembles a Landed House, can be the property of the entire building, and its management is carried out professionally. If there is a commercial part in the management, the unit owner will get a share of the profit together.

### ***B. Behavior Tatars Theory (Behavior Setting)***

Humans are the center of the environment, so humans can influence the environment, and vice versa, the environment can affect human behavior. Human processes and behavior are grouped into two parts, namely Individual Processes and Social Processes.

In meeting human needs, there is a pattern of user behavior. According to Barker (1968), a psychology figure who developed research into individual behavior related to the physical environment in the field and gave birth to the concept of Tatars Behavior Settings defined as a repetitive activity in the form of a behavior pattern consisting of one or more extraneous individual behavior patterns. With certain environmental arrangements (circumajacent milieu) that formed a similar relationship between the two (synomorphy) and carried out in a certain period of time.

A Behavior Pattern can consist of several behaviors simultaneously, among others as follows: *emotional behavior, behavior to solve problems, motoric activities of personal interactions, and manipulation of objects*. The combination of these behaviors form a pattern of behavior, occurs in a particular physical environment or on the milieu.

To be able to know the extent of interdependence between two entities, it can be tested against the degree of dependence in terms of several dimensions, including:

- a) Occupants, b) Activities, c) Leadership, d) Population, e) Space, f) Time, g) Object, and h) Mechanism of Behavior.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

In this study, the observation methodology of occupant behavior was used when occupying residential units in Vertical Housing that had been built, with a minimum stay of 6 months, residents with family status and Hindu religion.

Observations were made by observing the facts in the field, interviews with residents by taking samples of each floor representing each spatial arrangement and different orientations in a building tower.

Interviews are also conducted for Vertical Housing managers regarding the implementation of management and occupancy provisions that must be / must be carried out by residents and vice versa. Interviews were also conducted with policy holders, policy implementers, and property entrepreneurs in Bali Province to find out how much support for the development of Vertical Housing in housing needs.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

In this discussion, the emphasis is more on observing how Balinese society with its culture, makes a change in inhabiting behavior, from the habit of inhabiting Landed or Traditional Houses, adapting in inhabiting Vertical Housing. How far is the behavior change that occurs because of the settings in the available residential units, and how the occupants overcome the settings that are not in accordance with their expectations, especially in the activity of occupying the building/unit that has been prepared.

### ***1. Physical Differences***

The way to inhabit Vertical Housing is certainly very different from inhabiting the original house / own house. The following are physical differences that affect how to inhabit it.

**A. Individual Process**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Home of Origin</b>	<b>Vertical Housing</b>
1.	House Quality	Design	Directly involved	Not involved
		Spacious room/room size.	Minimal type 21/100 or 200 m2	Only a building unit Minimal type 18.21,36
		Orientation and circulation	According to sacred orientation	The efficiency of space utilization (some are suitable for those who don't)
		Structure and construction	Simple	Large and tall buildings
		Building façade	Compound period	Single period
2.	Structure and service delivery	Road Access	Public road/road environment	Road within the region
		Water supply	PDAM/Independent well	PDAM/ vertical wells and plumbing systems
		Disposal and waste management	The integrated of <i>Tebe</i> / TPA	The communal of TPA
		Drainage and Sanitation	Tertiary / independent in the site	Sekundair/ DSDP/ machine treatment

**B. Social Process**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Variable</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Home of Origin</b>	<b>Vertical Housing</b>
1.	Education facilities	City facilities	Directly involved	City facilities/complex facilities
		Health facilities	Directly involved	Complex/city facilities
		Commercial area need	Directly involved	Directly involved
		Government public facilities	Directly involved	Directly involved
		Space for Praying facilities	<i>Pura Jagatnata/ Kahyangan tiga</i>	Complex of <i>Padmasana tiga</i>

Community space in the housing environment      *Bale Banjar* and territory      Open space around the building

Fig. 3



- Traditional house/Home of origin      - The House of today  
 A place of ritual activity in Traditional Houses



- Vertical Housing

**2. Differences in Activities**

Housing occupancy vertical activities are limited by settings that have been prepared the prototype for the efficiency of space utilization, so that inhabiting activities in it are different from how to inhabit the Home / Landed House. In this discussion we will look for behavioral formulations in the activities of the Balinese people, which ones should at least change will be termed Core/Core behaviors, which can still be adjusted or peripheral, and which may be new. The following table 1 shows the differences in inhabiting activities in it:

**Table 1** The differences in inhabiting activities.

NO.	RESERVING ACTIVITIES	SUB. ACTIVITIES	BEHAVIOR CORE			BEHAVIOR PERIPHERAL			NEW BEHAVIOR		
			U	M	N	U	M	N	U	M	N
<b>A</b>	<b>Individual Process</b>										
1.	Domestic Activities										
	a.Ritual Activities	<b>Ritual activities /Daily Praying and occasional ritual of Panca Yadnya:</b>									
		<i>Dewa Yadnya</i> (daily worship)	v								
		<i>Manusa Yadnya (Otonan)</i>		v							
		<i>Manusa Yadnya (Metatah)</i>		v							
		<i>Manusa Yadnya (Wedding)</i>		v							
		<b>Sleeping :</b>									

	b. Daily Activities	Main Bedroom				v								
		Children's / Other Bedroom					v							
		<b>Family Communication :</b>												
		Family room					v							
		Living room			v			v						
		Outside Corridor of Rooms / Units						v						
		<b>Service Activities :</b>												
		Kitchen												
		Toilet/bathroom			v				v					
		Clothesline			v				v					
		Laundry room							v					
		Warehouse												
		Parking lot												
		<b>Neighbourhood Activities :</b>								v				
		Playroom/ Playground								v				
Meeting room								v						
Garden Park								v						
<b>2.</b>	<b>Inhabiting Process</b>													
	a. Hierarchy of Space and Orientation	The meaning of <i>Tri Mandala</i> ( <i>Madya</i> and <i>Nista</i> ).					v							
		The Sacred orientation of room/furniture.					v							
		Sleeping position	v				v							
		The Higher elevation for the secured domain.						v						
		Building appearance						v						
		The sacredness of <i>Paon</i> / Kitchen						v						
	b. Home Making	Social acceptance and personal status.												
		Feeling home						v						
		Home Sanctisfaction						v						
<b>3.</b>	<b>Social Process</b>													
	a. Domestic Activities	The meaning of inner yard ( <i>Natah</i> )					v							
		Communities Praying	v											
		Public Facilities							v					
		Neighbourhood communities								v				
	b. Community Activities	The Meaning of <i>Bale Banjar</i>								v				
		The Meaning of <i>Menyame Beraya</i>								v				
		Place of worship together		v										
<b>4</b>	<b>Hybridisation</b>													
	Tendency for nuclear family	The idea of a modern family									v			
	The Prominence of Home	Trying optimally according to purity									v			
	Duplicating of Home	Second house, not a second home									v			

Fig. 4



- Place of ritual activity in Traditional Houses Housing

- Place of ritual activity in Vertical Housing

From the search above, it can be seen thoroughly that not all activities in the Origin House and or Landed Houses can be carried out in Vertical Housing. The most mandatory activities can still be done in Vertical Housing is domestic activities, while peripheral activities can be adjusted as long as residents can and are accustomed. Then for new activities, it is attempted to change behavior from behavior according to the Home of origin and or Landed House to be Vertical Residential which must tolerate and live together and use facilities together every day.

The following will show the differences in elements that must be adjusted between Origin/Traditional Houses, Urban Landed Houses, and Vertical Housing in Table 2:

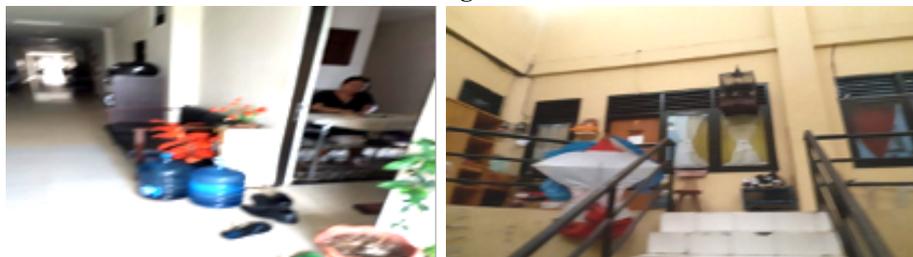
**Table 2** The differences in differences in elements that must be adjusted between Origin/Traditional Houses.

No.	Element	Origin / Traditional House	Urban House / Housing	Vertical Housing
	<b>Element Core</b>			
1	Ritual activities /Daily Praying and occasional ritual ( <i>Dewa Yadnya, Manusa Yadnya</i> ) - <i>Otonan</i> - <i>Metatah</i> - Wedding	Everything can be done in the area of the house.	Only the Ceremony of the <i>Dewa Yadnya Piodalan Alit Merajan</i> and <i>Manusa yadnya (Otonan)</i>	Only daily prayer, and <i>Otonan</i> routine for the children
2	Determining Sacred Orientation	Can be adjusted because it is fully involved in the development process	Can be implemented even if only in the adjustment of a single building period (not with the <i>Natah</i> pattern)	Can adjust only in one unit by adjusting the position of furniture in a particular room
3	The Higher elevation for the sacred.	Can be arranged because it is clearly separated from the <i>Tri Mandala / Sanga Mandala</i> pattern.	Trying to adjust around the area of ownership of the House.	Forced to adjust to beat the peripherals
4	Home Sanctification	Satisfying as Residential with all its functions	Satisfying as a place to live	Satisfying only as a long-term lodging.

	<b>Peripheral Element</b>			
<b>1</b>	Daily activities Sleeping - Main Bedroom  - Children's / Other Bedroom  - Sleeping position	In one building period ( <i>Bale Daja</i> and <i>Bale Dauh</i> ).  In a one building period ( <i>Bale Dauh</i> )  Planned accordingly	At the most primary and most private orientation.  Intermediate orientation and can be arranged in one building period.  Planned accordingly	On Orientation of the outer wall with windows.  On the orientation of the outer wall with the window or no  Arranged to fit the furniture set.
<b>2</b>	Family communication - Family room - Living room - Outside corridors of rooms/units	Separate  There is no	Separate / merged  Can Exist	Merged  Must Exist
<b>3.</b>	Services activities - Toilet/bathroom  - Clothesline  - Laundry room  - Warehouse  - Parking Lot	Separate building More than one  Directly in open space  Separate building  One part of the building  Separate building	Separate room More than one  Direct / or hidden from public space  Separate room/no  One part of the room  Separate building	Separate room Only one  Seen/hidden from the building's façade  Time bug with family room  There is no  Ground floor/page at the same time also used budget time
<b>4</b>	Neighbourhood activity - Playroom/ Playground  - Meeting room	Separate building /Natah  <i>Bale Delod</i> / Separate building	Home yard  Living room / Family room	Corridor / Outside  Not available / commercially available

	- Garden Park			
5	Informal social interaction and leisure	<i>Natah and Tebe, Telajakan</i>	Front yard, building border.	Open space between residential towers
6	Feeling Home	Home and traditional <i>Banjar</i> circles	The environment, <i>Banjar</i> the joy and sorrow	Not available
		There are bounding with ancestors and births and memories and extended family reunions.	Attachments to birth and memories with the nuclear family	Memories in a certain time
<b>New</b>				
1	The Idea of Modern Family	There is no	In some parts	Must adapt
2	Trying optimally according to purity.	There is no	In some rooms	Most of the
3	Second House but not second Home	There is no	Second house	Not second house

Fig. 5



Everyday activities in Vertical Housing that change/add lobby function.

Fig. 6



Everyday Drying places that are "forced" are seen when the behavior patterns of space use have not been regulated by residents in Vertical Housing in Denpasar.

Fig. 7



Everyday Visible sunbathing is common.

It is seen that there are not many clotheslines in one unit in vertical housing outside Indonesia.

## CONCLUSION

From the discussion above it was found that inhabiting Vertical Housing is a new thing for Balinese people, from heterogeneous residents (different religions, ranks of origin and culture, as well as family social status), ritual activities that are not optimally available and service spaces that must be utilized with a time table to be sufficient and efficient.

Likewise, in social processes, where the settings made on Vertical Housing require the Balinese to adjust to being able to accept the conditions available on the Vertical Housing. The above process can be grouped as follows:

### A. Individual Process

In this process, the core activities and behaviors have a slight change in position, dimensions, facilities, and infrastructure of ritual, especially in the ritual process of the *Dewa Yadnya* and *Manusa Yadnya* which is carried out in the *Kaje* or *Kangin* orientation in the occupant's "sanctified" space. Similarly, the main service room is like clothes drying room that is still visible from the outside of the building, although there have been efforts made to cover up the "landscape," making the Vertical Housing less comfortable and slums. The sleeping room, which has an average of only two rooms in each unit, requires the family of the occupants to be limited to the nuclear family only, plus the dimensions of each small unit, which is an average size of 36 m<sup>2</sup>. Based on this, it was found that:

- 1) Vertical housing is set for residents with a nuclear family, consisting of a mother's father and a maximum of two children. If more, it should not occupy vertical occupancy, or it could be by adding units to the same block.
- 2) For daily ritual activities, Residents of Vertical Housing conduct a space setting that is "sanctified" by installing the *Pelangkiran* and only carried out routine *Otonan* rituals every six months for members of their Families. To do other rituals the rest, they will return to their home.
- 3) Activities in drying clothes, storage space (Warehouse) and others are in clean up and recycling or in and out settings (items that are included are balanced) so that the space in residence does not feel crowded. Or if you want to add an item/household item again, then there must be a household tool that is issued/sold.

### B. Social Process

Vertical Housing residents are very minimal in carrying out social processes, moreover, the facilities for such matters are also very minimal, so that social life tends to be individual. The social process is carried out only to the extent of the relationship of service and the fulfillment of the order to inhabit the required, not because of awareness and sincerity to socialize. The communication process between residents is only tied to official service

and occurs according to the hierarchy of the head of the family structure. Not a pure social structure.

The use of shared facilities such as a garage, lobby/meeting room with an area of 36 m<sup>2</sup>, is still regulated according to priorities related to the structure of the head of the occupation of the family of the residents. From the two studies on the inhabiting process mentioned above, it can be concluded that:

- 1) Vertical housing is a new thing in how to inhabit Balinese society. The habit of staying at home origin requires an adjustment process that starts from mental adjustment, inhabiting needs (not desires) and is prepared with a high tolerance attitude.
- 2) Individual activities can be adjusted/modified to the extent of other daily and routine activities and can be decided individually.
- 3) Social activities do not exist, only limited to official relations.
- 4) Physically the occupants' sense of belonging is different in Traditional Houses (very high, because there is an attachment to the beliefs and attachments to the ancestors). The Second House still feels high because it is its own. Whereas Vertical Housing is not high because there are only general ritual facilities and not their own, and are bound by a hierarchical position structure.
- 5) Adjustment of inhabiting behavior that needs to be prepared by the Balinese people in Vertical Housing is mental preparation and mindset changes about appropriate activities and adequate and efficient equipment by utilizing time tables in space functions.

Of these two things, the Balinese people who live in Vertikal Housing adjust their behavior massively, only on things that can be adjusted and changed but are still oriented to their cultural values / norms. Things that cannot be done will be carried out by returning to the Traditional House within a certain period of time. Likewise, the attachment to the social structure (*Mebanjaran*) will still be carried out in its original village / *Banjar*.

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# The Effect of Dutch Colonial Architecture on Palace in Bali, Indonesia

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## Abstract

Dutch colonial architecture is an architecture that combines western and eastern cultures. Dutch colonial architecture was present through the work of Dutch architects and was intended for the Dutch who lived in Indonesia, in the period before independence. Agung Karangasem palace is one of the remains of architectural works built in the 19th century after Dutch colonialism conquered Karangasem in 1894, by Statehoder I namely Anak Agung Gede Jelantik, the first king of the Kingdom of Karangasem. This palace uses the concept of *Tri Mandala*, which is different from the general concept of the palace in Bali, namely *Sanga Mandala*. Another uniqueness is the existence of a building with the name *Gedong Maskerdam* which is the residence of the king in the Main Mandala. The purpose of this study was to dig deeper into the style and visual characteristics of the *Gedong Maskerdam* building. The type of research used is qualitative-rationalistic research with descriptive methods, namely describing the object/building *Gedong Maskerdam* and analyzing the style and visual character of the building. The results showed that the colonial style of *Gedong Maskerdam* was largely influenced by the Indische Kingdom Style (Age 18-19).

**Keywords:** Colonial Architecture, *Gedong Maskerdam*, Agung Karangasem Palace

## 1. Introduction

### Background

Indonesia is a country with diverse tribes and races that creates a different culture in each archipelago, which creates a diverse architecture as well. But after the arrival of European traders to Indonesia, architecture, and culture in several regions of Indonesia were influenced by Dutch culture. Mixing between two Indonesian cultures with the Dutch is called colonial culture (Covarrubias, 1937; Handinoto, 1998; Rajendra & Nicholls, 2013). One of the buildings affected by Colonial culture was the *Gedong Maskerdam* building in Agung Karangasem palace, Bali. The pattern of the Agung Karangasem palace space that is different from another palace in Bali is because when Agung Karangasem palace was built, the kingdom of Karangasem was a kingdom that was not yet independent. After the king of Karangasem, I Gusti Gede Karangasem died in 1849, the king of Mataram namely I Gusti Anglurah Ktut Karangasem sent his three nephews. Thus the kingdom of Karangasem from then on was under the control of the Mataram kingdom. Then, after the Karangasem dynasty in Mataram was ruled by the Dutch in 1894, the kingdom of Karangasem automatically fell into the hands of the Dutch. Furthermore, the Dutch

appointed Anak Agung Gde Jelantik as Stedehouder I and occupied Palace Amlapura, now called Agung Karangasem palace (Agung, 1986). So based on this background, it is only natural that the concept of building a palace in Agung Karangasem palace is different from other palaces in Bali (Ardika, 2004; Megawangi, 2013; Andiani, 2014)

According to Sumalyo (1993), Dutch culture not only affected the lives of Indonesians but also, the way of thinking of Dutch architects, when applying local/traditional concepts to their design buildings. Colonial architecture in Indonesia is a unique cultural phenomenon (a mixture of cultures between colonialists and Indonesian culture), and no other place, including other former colonies. The uniqueness of these buildings can be seen in the form of Dutch colonial heritage buildings, which according to the results of Handinoto's identification and analysis (1998), the era's architectural style was divided into three architectural styles, namely: (1) Indische Empire Style; Transitional Architectural Style; (3) Indo-European style. Therefore, researchers are interested in knowing more about the style of colonial buildings seen in the *Gedong Maskerdam* building that still exists today. The results of this study can be submitted to the government and can be a proposed theme in preserving the Karangasem area of Agung Palace as a supporter of Heritage City with the potential of colonial architecture.

### Research Question

Based on the background above, the formulation of the problem from this study is:

1. What is the influence of Colonial Architecture on the *Gedong Maskerdam* building?
2. What style of building is used by the *Gedong Maskerdam* Building?

### Research Objective

Agung Karangasem palace is located in the city of Amlapura which is the capital of Karangasem district, also a center of the kingdom in the past. Based on its layout, Agung Karangasem palace is not in the *Kaja-Kangin* area (Northeast) and is not placed at the intersection (*Pempatan Agung*), around it now there are several functions including the field, Gede Karangasem palace, and the residential neighborhood. Agung Karangasem palace discussed in this study is the modern type. Variations in the shape of the palace building that is not owned by other palaces, namely the nuances of cross-cultural architecture, which can be seen in each building because of acculturation of Traditional Balinese Architecture with foreign cultures (Megawangi, 2013; Andiani, 2014).

### Outcome Targets and Research Benefits

In this study, the aim to be achieved was to find out how the influence of colonial architecture on the *Gedong Maskerdam* building and to know what building style was used by the *Gedong Maskerdam* Building.

Academic benefits: For science, this research is expected to enrich the study material of colonial buildings, especially those that have colonial architectural influences on the *Gedong Maskerdam* building in Agung Karangasem palace. Practical benefits: can be used as a reference for formulating efforts to approach the preservation of palace buildings, especially those that are subject to colonial influence as a cultural heritage that is the object of tourism, in preserving cultural preservation and city identity. For the object itself, this research is expected to be used as inspiration for the formulation of policies to control changes in palace buildings that occur mainly in the City of Amlapura, Karangasem, Bali.

## 2. Literature Review

### Elements of Colonial Architecture Style

According to Handinoto (1998) and Budihardjo (1986), elements of architectural style can be divided into 4 main elements, namely: floor plan, appearance, building shape, and construction system. The plan is to see horizontal buildings as high as 1 meter from a height of 0.00 buildings with the upper part of the building removed. According to Handinoto (1998), plans in the Indische Empire's architectural style (Ages 18-19) are determined by the shape of a full symmetry plan, there is a central space, and there is a terrace that surrounds the floor. Whereas the Transitional Architecture (1890-1915) was determined by a full symmetry plan, and there was a terrace on the floor. Modern colonial architectural plans (1915-1940) are determined by asymmetry (more varied), there is no terrace on the floor and uses light-retaining elements.

The physical form of a building appears in two dimensions. Visible images can be drawn clearly or added shadow effects to strengthen the dimensions or back and forth fields in the building. According to Handinoto (1998), the elements seen in the Indische Empire Style (Century 18-19) are determined by: the dominance of Greek-style columns, there is a front terrace (*voor galerij*), there is a back porch and looks symmetrical. For the transitional architectural style (1890-1915), the element seems to be determined by: there is an attempt to remove the Greek-style column, there are gables, and there is a tower (tower) at the entrance. For modern colonial architectural styles (1915-1940), determined by: it seems not symmetry, and it looks clean design. The use of building materials is all materials used for construction purposes. Many natural ingredients, such as clay, sand, wood, and stone.

According to Handinoto (1998), that the architectural style of Indische Empire (Ages 18-19), is determined by: the main construction building materials are bricks, both columns and walls, wooden building materials especially on horses, frames, and doors, and not many us glass. In the building style of the Transitional Architecture (1890-1915), the use of building materials Bricks on the columns and walls, the main materials of wood in the horses, frames, and doors, and the use of glass in the windows are still very limited. Building materials in the buildings of the Modern Colonial Architecture style (1915-1940), mainly are: concrete building materials and the use of glass material is quite wide (especially in windows). The construction system is the way in which the structure of a building is carried out (a matter of strength, connection of elements/parts that are connected in detail). The structure is that the elements are placed and interconnected with the intention that the structure has the nature of being able to withstand certain loads (Sumalyo, 1993; Kurniawan, 2016). The loading of building structures is diverse and complex (complex). Buildings accommodate living people, movable items, varying wind loads, static structures, and building materials all carried by the structure or frame of the building and channeled to the ground through the foundation. However, according to Handinoto (1998), that the construction system elements in the Indische Empire-style building (Century 18-19), are: on the use of bearer Walls, with rows of columns on the front and rear terraces; then using a column and beam construction system, and using a roof shield construction with tile roof coverings. The building style of the Transitional Architecture (1890-1915) uses a system of bearing wall construction with striking front gables, using the form of gable and shields by using tile roof coverings, and There are attempts to use additional construction as ventilation on the roof. For the Modern Colonial architectural style (1915-1940), using the framework construction system, so that the wall only functions as a cover, still dominated by gable with roof tile or shingle cover material, and there are parts of the building using concrete construction, using a flat roof of concrete, which has never existed (Sumalyo, 1993; Kurniawan, 2013)

### **The architecture of *Gedong Maskerdam***

This palace was founded by the Kingdom of Karangasem with the king of Anak Agung Gede Jelantik at the end of the 19th century. At that time the territory of the Karangasem Kingdom expanded to Lombok Island. This shows that the Kingdom of Karangasem has experienced its heyday. Balinese people gather in a community from century to century and experience adaptation in their socio-cultural life. During its history, adaptation emerged in various fields of life, including the spiritual field. From the mystical, anthological, and functional times, it seems that architectural works have undergone improvements through slow adaptation without leaving the existing elements, which then make traditional Balinese architecture. The same applies to architecture in Agung Karangasem palace. Various architectures, originating from outside Bali, and other adjustments can be found in this palace. (Agung, 1986; Sulistyawati, 2008; Megawangi, 2013).

The layout in Agung Karangasem palace does not follow the palace spatial pattern in general in Bali, but follows the temple pattern that uses the *Tri Mandala* concept, which is divided into three parts, namely the main (inner), middle (middle) and non-oppressive the division of space in Agung Karangasem palace was simpler than the other large palace which also functioned as the place of the previous kings (Gelebet, 1985; Dwijendra, 2009; Salain, 2015).

Agung Karangasem palace is unique in architecture and seating patterns. Agung Karangasem palace floor plan has two types, namely the traditional type in the south and the modern type in the north. The southern palace area is

an older palace built previously by kings in Agung Karangasem palace around 1875. While in the northern part of the palace area which was built in 1900, it has more modern characteristics than the southern region. Modern elements can be seen from the shape of the building, ornaments used, and the names of the buildings used. The manifestation of architecture in this region is seen as a foreign influence, especially the thick one seen is Dutch influence. Dutch influence began after the Karangasem dynasty in Mataram palace was ruled by the Dutch in 1894, then the Netherlands appointed Anak Agung Gde Jelantik as Stedehouder I and occupied Amlapura palace, now called Agung Karangasem palace. The influence of this external culture is the result of the involvement of the Dutch architect named Van der Heutz, who collaborated with local undagi. The European influence is seen in the style of the main building with a large veranda. Agung Karangasem palace discussed in this study is a modern type. The *Gedong Maskerdam* building is in the northern region of the modern type palace (Gelebet, 1985; Dwijendra, 2009; Salain, 2015).

The name *Gedong Maskerdam*, this term is clearly not from the Balinese language. But this was inspired by the name of the Netherlands (Amsterdam). The Balinese name is *Saren Agung*, as the king's residence in the real sense (sleep and family activities) called the *Saren Agung* (Raja's residence) in the palace in the form of *Bale Bandung*, a building that has a room and terrace, with wooden poles according to bale size (can also be flat *bale*), namely *Bale Bandung* which was developed into pole 22. While *Gedong Maskerdam* this space pattern is almost the same as *Bale Gunung Rata*, but the dimensions are bigger. Similarly, pole material on the terrace consists of brick, wood, and metal (iron), unusual for similar buildings in traditional Balinese architecture (Agung, 1986; Sulistyawati, 2008; Andiani, 2014).

### 3. Research Methods

The type of research used is rationalistic qualitative with descriptive method, descriptive method aims to find out things that are related to the state of things. Descriptive method is done by collecting data from the results of field observations, documentation/photo, and literature studies related to the object of study. Observations on the architecture of the *Gedong Maskerdam* building were carried out by looking at and observing the style and visual character of the building directly in the building, which was the case study in this study. Observation of building styles includes plans, looks, building materials used, and construction systems used. Observation of visual characters includes the form of roofs, exterior walls, doors, and windows. Documentation/photo is done by photographing the condition of the building and recording information and data obtained in the field. Literature study is carried out by studying the writings and various concepts and various theories related to the development of Dutch colonial architecture in Indonesia and the history of *Gedong Maskerdam*, so that data can be obtained to analyze the visual style and character of buildings (Nasution, 2001; Moleong, 2010; Groat, 2013).

### 4. Result and Discussion

#### Floor plan

*Gedong Maskerdam* is the building where the king lives. Right in front of *Gedong Maskerdam* there is a *Pemandesan Bale* as a place of religious ceremonies. West of *Gedong Maskerdam* there is a *Bale Pawedan* differentiation which is a sacred building, while behind *Gedong Maskerdam* there is a *Gedong Londen* building as a residence for the royal family surrounded by other *gedong* buildings such as the *Gedong Betawi* building, *Gedong Yogya*, and *Ekalanga*. *Gedong Maskerdam* has a full symmetry plan, like a building plan commonly used in buildings in the era of the 18-19 century or known as the Indische Empire Style era. *Gedong Maskerdam* as the king's residence in the form of *Bale Bandung*, is a building that has a room and terrace. While this *Gedong Maskerdam* pattern is almost the same as *Bale Gunung Rata*, but its dimensions are eight times larger. *Gedong Maskerdam* has a front porch (*Voor galerij*) and a back porch (*Achter galerij*), to avoid direct sunlight and rain water. Looks symmetrical following the shape of the building plan, using a square wooden column on the front porch (*Voor galerij*) and back porch (*Achter galerij*). Has 6 entrances, namely: 5 entrances from the front and 1 entrance from behind. *Gedong* is equipped with 4 bedrooms. The entrance of *Gedong Maskerdam* is protected by sun/rain protection/barrier elements in the form of a corridor on the left and right sides of the building, also behind

the building. The use of protective/light retaining elements is found in Indische Empire Style buildings (Ages 18-19).

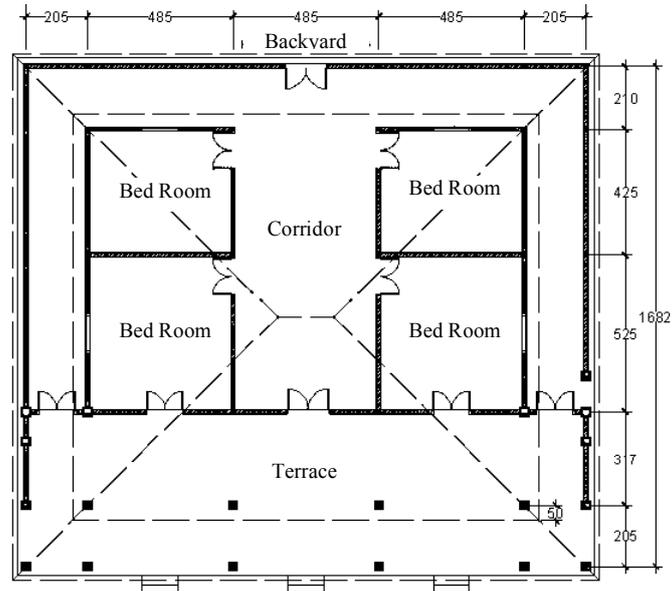


Figure 1. Plan of *Gedong Maskerdam* Building  
Source: Observation, 2018

### Elevation

The *Gedong Maskerdam* building initially functioned as the king's bed and subsequently functioned as a place to receive royal guests. The form appears symmetrical building, and there are columns and appear to reflect the form, follow, function, or clean design. The building looks decorated with 3 entrances, 1 entrance to the corridor and 2 entrances to the dining room and to the bedroom. Each side of the right and left has 1 entrance to the back of the building. The corridor on the left, right and back of the building resulted in the building and lighting on the building going well. There is a terrace on the front of the building, and the terrace is supported by rows of iron columns wrapped in concrete at the bottom. The roof of the building is in the form of a shield with a slope between 380 to 580. The terracotta tile roof cover with wood construction. The walls in the building are bearing walls made of bricks with a thickness of 30cm. The walls are finely textured, made from a mixture of river stone and limestone in plaster. The door uses the main material from wood carved with paint finishing. On the front, there is a building column made of iron combined with a pair of square bricks, the column used is 20 x 20cm.



Figure 2. Elevation of *Gedong Maskerdam* Building  
Source: Observation, 2018

### Building Materials

The roof of the building uses wood as the main structure with a roof covering using tile. The wall uses brick material as the main construction material for the wall of one stone with a thickness of 30 cm. Finishing on walls uses limestone as stucco. Frames, doors, and windows use wood. The use of iron material can be found, especially in the building column and on the trellis of the windows as the safety of the building. While on the floor of the building using tile material on the terrace and terrazzo in the inner room.



Figure 3. Use of Materials on Terraces, Columns, and Building Windows

Source: Observation, 2018

### Construction System

The *Gedong Maskerdam* building looks sturdy because the strength of construction is very prioritized especially the use of basic materials such as transverse brick (one stone) and the use of selected wood. Roof construction uses the form of a pyramid roof. The height of the wall is approximately 5m, which is designed with a high wall structure. Construction of the column is made sturdy as in the general colonial building. The use of this kind of column is not merely a consideration of construction but has aesthetic value, especially decoration, on the pedestal column or entablature section. This kind of column is known as a column of order architecture, which is the influence of classical European building constructions. This kind of column stall is commonly used in the construction of colonial style buildings in a number of places in Indonesia. On the wall, there is a hole that serves as natural lighting. The shape of the roof used is a simple gable form, without using a ceiling. The air can flow well because it is equipped with windows that are on the left and right sides of the building (cross circulation)



Figure 4. Construction System on The Side, Terrace, and Back of The Building

Source: Observation, 2018

### 5. Conclusion

The style of the Dutch colonial heritage building *Gedong Maskerdam* is predominantly influenced by the *Indische Empire Style* (Ages 18-19). The visual characteristics of the buildings of the Dutch colonial heritage *Gedong Maskerdam* include: It has the form of a shield roof, with a slope angle of  $38^{\circ}$  to  $58^{\circ}$  with tile roof covering material. The wall is a construction of a bearer wall, thick walls with a thickness of between 30cm, smooth textured walls,

made of a mixture of river stone and limestone in plaster. The building column is made of square iron, the column used is 20 x 20cm in diameter. The model, type, size, number, and placement of the doors of each building are different. Large diameter doors, double doors, using wood materials. The window has a model of massif wood panel windows and blinds windows. The *Gedong Maskerdam* building as a legacy of the past, the community should still maintain and preserve the Dutch colonial architecture as one of the supporting elements of the old city character in Karangasem Regency. As well as to improve the quality of the environment and architecture that has architectural and historical values.

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# Elements of the Cultural Space as a Form Identity of Klungkung Urban Area, Bali, Indonesia

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## Abstract

The identity of cities in Indonesia has a different character and spatial structure, especially in the Klungkung urban area, Bali. Identifying urban areas will be able to understand who, what, patterns, and needs that must be met. The identity of urban areas is based on the order and function of urban life that is integrated in the socio-cultural values of the city residents as the soul and identity of the city, as well as the physical elements of the city. In the urban environment there are cultural space elements as indicators and references for the development of the identity of the Klungkung urban area, Bali. This research is based on the low level of understanding and form of community implementation, and the government on city identity and lack of public awareness about culture as the holder of an important role as a form of urban identity. Space Culture, as a city identity in the development of urban areas, is increasingly lost and not directed. Identity originating from the Local Elements of Space Elements will affect all aspects of the development of elements forming the character of urban areas. There are several concepts of Balinese Space Elements that can provide a touch of identity for urban areas, namely the history of traditions and beliefs, a system of values, art and cultural space settings which include fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed elements. This research uses qualitative methods by applying descriptive, hermeneutic, and literature studies. This study aims to find out what elements of cultural space become the identity form of Klungkung Urban Area, Bali. From the results of the analysis in the conceptual order, the benefits and results obtained are obtained to provide an overview of the local cultural space elements as the identity of the Klungkung urban area. Whereas in the operational order it can formulate policies regarding the identity of urban development. In the future, the results of this study are expected to be input in determining the shape and pattern of the identity of an urban area.

**Keywords:** Balinese Cultural Elements, Space Settings, Urban Identity, Urban Areas

## INTRODUCTION

### Background

Klungkung urban area is an area that has a long history and is a central area for the development of kingdoms in Bali. Local culture is inseparable from the identity of an urban area. The development of the Klungkung urban area has increasingly advanced, especially seen from the arrangement of cities and historic buildings

that have a high historical value. Klungkung urban area is divided into several regional functions, both commercial, historical, office, and service areas.

The identity of the Klungkung urban area is needed for the advancement of an area, currently, the Klungkung District Government is in the spirit of developing and improving various aspects of excellence in the potential of culture, tourism and the identity of the Klungkung urban area. Almost all regions in Klungkung Regency that have potential will be developed as cultural space identities and tourism attractiveness as a form of identity for urban development. The wisdom of local culture is also reflected in the concept of zoning, which views the mountain as an upstream zone or a head that is sacred or sacred. Bali captures space through Hindu cosmology. In this approach, the macro cosmos and human space are microcosms, both of which contain the same elemental value. The emphasis is on achieving harmony between the macrocosm and the microcosm.

Developing a city that is culturally-minded is one of the visions that have been discussed by all regions in Bali, then continued in the following period, the discourse of "ajeg Bali" emerged which was an effort towards sustainable development based on Balinese culture. This is so that the unique Balinese culture is maintained and preserved in accordance with the conditions that develop in the sense of accepting the movement of cultural change but still in the corridor of Balinese culture.

With a strong history and background of Klungkung, the central government of the Balinese kings in Klungkung has an important and very central role in the area of Bali, namely the very influential Role of Puri Klungkung from the Dutch colonial period to the kingdoms in the Bali region. Klungkung Regency has a very diverse potential of cultural customs, such as dances, small industries, paintings, and several temples and puri, which can be classified as cultural heritage. Puri is a history of the past that is full of meaning and full of dynamics of life in its heyday. Puri as the center of government, the center of culture, education, and socio-economic life of the people of the city of Klungkung. In the future, the Klungkung area can provide an overview of the elements of local cultural space as a form of identity for urban areas in Bali

### **Research Question**

Based on the background stated above, the research questions faced by the Klungkung urban area are as follows:

1. How is the development of the Klungkung urban area seen from the history and local cultural space?
2. What elements of cultural space are the identities of the development of the Klungkung urban area?

### **Research Objectives**

The choice of this research topic is focused on cultural elements that play a major role in developing a future urban area. From the position of this research, the author tries to connect the cultural linkages to the development of urban areas in Bali and has a purpose

- 1 Knowing how cultural space can give shape to the identity of an Urban Area
- 2 Knowing the contribution given by city identity to the development of urban areas
- 3 Knowing the strategy for developing an urban area based on culture as the identity of a city in Bali
- 4 City Identity Can contribute to the development of Urban areas

### **Outcome Targets and Research Benefits**

This study emphasizes more on the elements of local cultural space as a form of identity for an urban area where the history of traditions, beliefs, values systems, arts, and cultural space settings include fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed elements.

Besides that, this research is expected to be able to provide great benefits and contributions to the government and the community and as a future reference both at national and international levels about elements of cultural space as a form of urban identity which includes:

1. Providing an overview of elements of cultural space as a form of identity of an urban area throughout Indonesia
2. The importance of city identity in contributing to the development of urban areas in Indonesia
3. Providing a knowledge that City Identity Can make a major contribution to the development of Urban areas for Southeast Asian and Asian countries
4. Can provide a strategy for developing urban areas based on culture as urban identities in Southeast Asian and Asian countries

## Literature Review

The noble values of Balinese culture, namely things that are considered good and valuable in the sustainability of community life and culture include a range of abstract elements (intangible culture, non-object cultural elements) consisting of: 1. Philosophical Element: It is the most basic and most abstract element, containing basic essence and truth. Value Element: It is a basic element of valuable things in life, generally as a collective representation. 3. Concept Elements It is an element that is more instrumental and closer to the implementation level. Elements of Norms and Rules It is an element related to daily real life and practical value.

In the context and order of Urban design, spatial can be interpreted as relating to space (Trancik). Space consists of hard space and soft space. The principle of hard space is that which is limited by architectural walls intended to accommodate social activities (Trancik). Soft space area which is dominated by natural environments, such as parks, gardens, or green lanes. From this, it is known that there is a relationship between architectural / building work and natural environment in forming space. From that understanding, it can be said that spatial is the relationship that occurs between buildings, cultural environment, and space in accommodating human activities.

Settings are the layout of an interaction between humans and their environment (Rapoport 1982). Settings cover the environment in which humans (communities) are located (land, water, space, air, trees, other living things). That is to know the place and situation with which they are related because different situations have different layouts. In the context of space, settings can be distinguished by physical settings and activities/activity settings. Based on its constituent elements, the settings can be distinguished on (Rapoport, 1982):

1. Fixed elements are elements that are basically fixed, or changes are rare. Spatially these elements can be organized into size, location, sequence, and arrangement. But in the case of a phenomenon, these elements can be complemented by other elements. Includes: building and road equipment attached.
2. The semi-fixed element is a rather fixed element but still ranges from the arrangement and type of elements, such as road elements, advertising signs, shop windows, and other urban elements. The changes are quite fast and easy. Includes: street vendors, parking and marker systems.
3. Non-fixed elements are elements that are related to behavior or behavior shown by humans themselves, which are always not fixed, such as body position and body posture and body movements. Includes: pedestrians, motorized, and non-motorized vehicle movements.

The city is not a built environment that was built in a short time but was formed in a long time and is an accumulation of each stage of previous development. As stated by Rossi (1982), that the city is a collective physical artifact and was built for a long time and through a process that is rooted in the culture of its people. Cities are basically able to create uniqueness or distinctive characteristics such as the center of business, culture, art, or science and technology (science and technology), which are processed based on prominent characters or identities that have been owned from the beginning. city identity is not in the sense of the similarity of an object to another, but rather refers to the meaning of individuality which reflects the difference between other objects and their recognition as separate entities "(Lynch, 1960)

City identity is a mental image that is formed from the biological rhythms of certain places and spaces that reflect time (sense of time), which are grown from within rooted in the socio-economic activities of the city society itself (Lynch, 1972). Understanding is said that identity is a condition when someone is able to recognize or recall (memory) a place that has a difference with another place because it has character and uniqueness. Identity is a very important fundamental thing. When compared to these two forms of identity, it is likely that psychic identity is a form of identity that is actually more realistic and applicable to be considered and put forward as a city identity discourse because it is more rooted in the cultural values, functions and life order of the community, without having to ignore the physical conditions cities in an integrated and complementary manner.

There are 3 components that greatly affect the mental picture or image of people towards an area (Kevin Lynch 1969), namely:

1. Identity; Cities have the potential to be "read," meaning that people will understand the urban image (identification of objects, differences between objects, things that can be known).
2. Structure; City has the potential to. 'Compiled' means that people can experience urban space (the relation of objects, object-subject relations, visible patterns).
3. Meaning; Cities have the potential to "imagine" meaning that people can experience urban space (meaning objects, meaning subject-objects, feelings that can be experienced) is an understanding of meaning by observers of two components (identity and structure of cities) through dimensions: symbolic, functional, emotional historical, cultural, political and spatial planning. City imagery is formed from several elements, according to Kevin Lynch, namely: Landmarks, edges, pathways, nodes, and districts.

## RESEARCH METHODS

Research emphasizes qualitative methods by applying a descriptive approach. Where in this study explained, identifying elements of Balinese cultural space using qualitative methods, and literature studies. Data collection techniques are carried out by direct observation to the field, interviews, and literature studies relating to elements of Balinese cultural space. This study aims to find out how the development of urban areas in Klungkung is seen from spatial elements and activities of Balinese culture. This research was conducted to find new elements of local Balinese culture that can be used as guidelines in giving meaning to the identity of urban areas in major cities in Indonesia in particular and cities of the world in general.

### Stages of Data Collection

1. Primary data is obtained directly from the field through observation and through interviews with informants. The primary data collection method was carried out by direct interviews with the Klungkung community, Klungkung cultural leaders, Klungkung district government and field documentation per place and per view of the City Area in Klungkung Regency
2. Secondary data, in the form of documents or literature from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), internet, newspapers, accredited journals, and so on. Secondary data collection is done by taking or using several / all data sets that have been recorded or reported and adapted to the field conditions that occur.

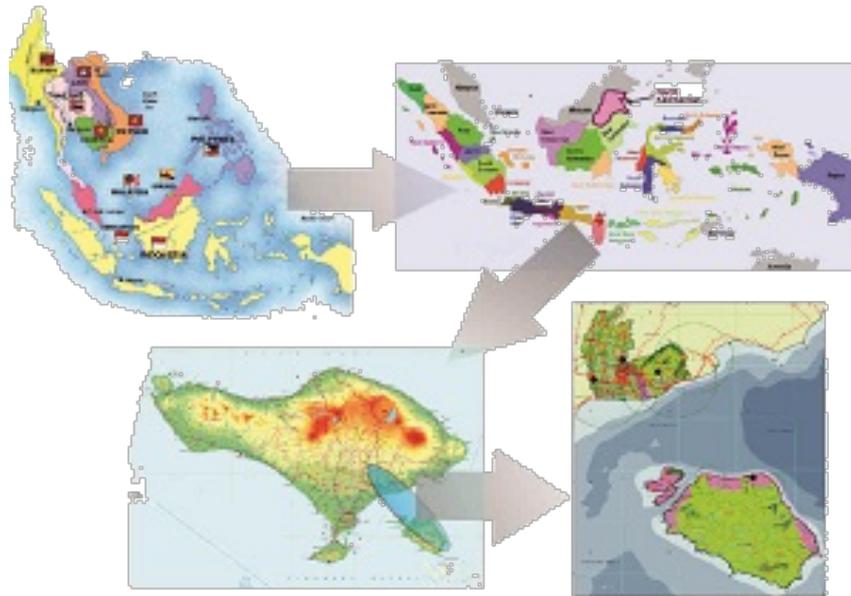
### Data analysis and conclusions

1. Data analysis using descriptive analysis was conducted to identify people's understanding of the elements of cultural space as forming the identity of the Klungkung city area. Data analysis was carried out through three channels, namely data reduction, data presentation, withdrawal of the data reduction stage is the process of sorting samples considered to meet the criteria, including local indigenous culture and acculturation if fulfilling the criteria. Including and if not deleted.
2. Conclusion of research and recommendations: formulate conclusions and suggestions.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Results

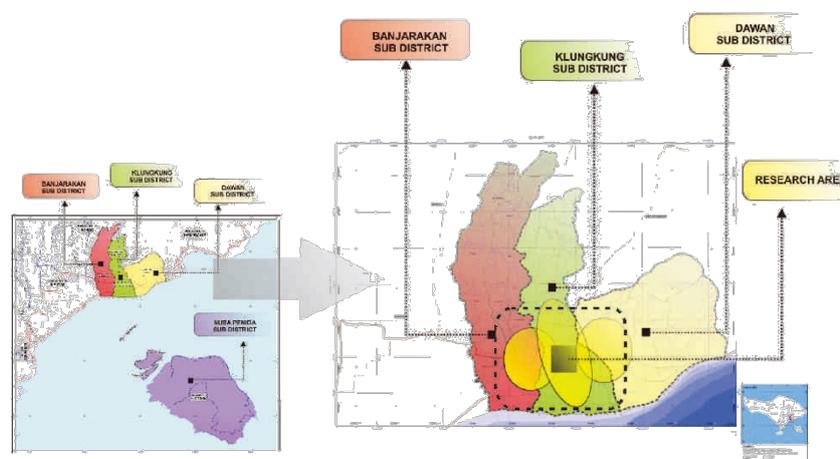
Overview The research location of Klungkung Regency is the smallest Regency of 9 (Nine) Districts and Cities in the Province of Bali with an area of 315 km<sup>2</sup> geographically located between 115.21'28 " - 115.37'43 " East Longitude and 008.27o 37 o - 008.49o 00 o South Latitude. The boundaries of the Klungkung Regency are in the north bordering Bangli Regency, east of Karangasem Regency in the south of the Indian Ocean and in the west bordering Gianyar Regency.



**Figure 1.** The location of the study site in Southeast Asia

Source: Author Analysis 2019

The Klungkung regency is divided into 4 sub-districts, namely: Banjarangkan, Klungkung, Dawan and Nusa Penida. A third of the Klungkung Regency area (112.16 km<sup>2</sup>) is located between the island of Bali and two thirds (202.84 km<sup>2</sup>) are islands, namely Nusa Penida, Nusa Lembongan, and Nusa Ceningan. The focus of this study is to take the location in Klungkung Regency precisely in the Klungkung sub-district and focus on the Klungkung urban area



**Figure 2.** The focus of the research location is in the Klungkung urban area

Source: Author Analysis 2019

Based on Klungkung data In macro terms, the spatial structure of the Klungkung area is formed by the components of spatial structure and urban design elements. Each component of the spatial structure forms an interaction mechanism through the order of functional activities that support each other. The main area spatial components that play a role in the structure of the Klungkung Klungkung urban area include Core Areas. Spatial components included in the core zone are the Klungkung City Region. The Buffer Zone Zone. Spatial components included in the Gel-Gel Area. And the area off into the Banjarangkan and Dawan sub-districts.

The results of the analysis of elements of cultural space as a form of identity in the Klungkung urban area are:

### ***History and tradition***

If seen from its development from the time of the founding of the kingdom, resistance to colonialism, the transfer of the royal capital to the era of independence, the Klungkung area which is now the capital of samarapura has an important and very central role and has a historical heritage as follows:

1. Klungkung's role from the beginning was the center of the development of the kingdom on the island of Bali.
2. The role and function of the market that has existed since the time of the kingdom, its existence still exists and has developed until now. The trade center also developed to the main and surrounding roads with the development of a commercialization function
3. In the field of constitutional affairs, the office of the Regent of Klungkung, other regional government monuments, and offices, is established;
4. Conservation areas and relics of Klungkung buildings, namely, Klungkung castle, Kertha gosa, struggle monument, and gel-gel area



**Figure 3.** Historical building in the Klungkung urban area

Source: Author Analysis 2019

### ***Art***

In the arts field, Klungkung Subdistrict which has heterogeneous life due to cultural acculturation has developed several arts such as dance, kerawitan, literature, and fine art which are the identities of Klungkung urban area

**Table 1.** art in the Klungkung sub-district as a cultural space for urban areas

<b>Dance</b>	<b>Karawitan</b>	<b>philology</b>	<b>art</b>
Baris Jangkung	A ngklung	Pesantian	Anyaman
Baro ng	Baleganjur	Sastra Lisan	Atbai
Baro ng K et	G ambang		Cagcag
Baro ng N o ngkling	G end er W ayang		Gerbah
			Handicraft, gold, silver
Calo narang	Gong Kebyar		Metal / Iron Crafts
Gandrung	K lentangan		Sculpture Crafts
Genjek	Rebana		Peno k Crafts
Jauk	Saro n		

Sumrah, Qasidah, Pudat	Semar Pegulingan	Selongsong Peluru Crafts
Kebyar Duduk dance	Topeng	Uang Kepeng Crafts
Rejang dance		Pand e Besi
Telek		Endek weaving
Topeng Pajegan		Ikat weaving
Wayang Wong		Songket weaving

Source: cultural, youth and sports services of Klungkung District 2018

### Values

The socio-cultural life of the people in Klungkung Subdistrict has its own characteristics because of the acculturation of culture between Balinese culture characterized by Hinduism and outside culture (non-Hindu). This cultural acculturation has been going on for a long time so that until now the life of Klungkung Urban is heterogeneous and continues well.

#### 1. Community System.

Residents living in the Klungkung Subdistrict area are the majority of Balinese people who are Hindu who have cultural diversity, and the social system that is formed is according to prevailing customs such as pekurenan (family) and dadia (offspring) groups as a result of marriage. This is also characterized by the distribution of building elements or placement of Balinese cultural forms, such as temple buildings or holy places, banjar halls, and sacred areas such as the Great Crossroad

#### 2. Customs

Communities in Klungkung Regency, especially in Mengwi Subdistrict, in interpreting the concepts of space are not very different from those in other areas of Bali. Tri hita karana philosophy contained in every legal rule or awig-awig traditional village is still manifested in the spatial concept in Klungkung Subdistrict, both macro, and micro.

Land use in the Klungkung urban area is divided into functions of the area with the main functions of natural, cultural and religious tourism, settlements, education and research, water tourism and village tourism, acting as tourist centers in the Klungkung area. With this role, the position of the Puri Klungkung tourist area, both in terms of regional development and equitable development, is an integral part of the development of the Klungkung urban area.

### Fixed Cultural Space Settings

#### Shape of Building

The building orientation is more about traditional Balinese architecture, namely the existence of space based on the concept of sanga mandala and tri mandala. Whereas the orientation of trade buildings tends to face the road for the purpose of inviting buyers.

#### Open Space

Open space in the Klungkung urban area is the Klungkung town square, which can be used for various positive activities for the community and the local government. Public open space is a very important thing, which is an important element that can be a development and development of a closed urban area.

### Semifixed Cultural Space Settings

#### Circulation and Parking

Circulation patterns and parking systems in the area generally use road bodies as are parking (on-street parking). Parking patterns like this greatly disrupt vehicle circulation, especially during busy hours. This parking pattern



**Table 2.** Elements of cultural space as aspects forming the Urban Identity

<b>Cultural Space Elements</b>	<b>Forming aspects of regional identity</b>	<b>Identity of the form of Urban area Development</b>
Symbolic	History of tradition	Provide the main direction orientation to the center of urban areas
Functional	Values	Segmentation based on zones and functions of urban areas
Emotional	Trust	Harmony and harmonization of urban communities to gods, other communities and the surrounding environment
Culture	Art	The historical characteristics of the habits of the people from the past were maintained
Political	Kingdom / Castle	Policies and regulations from leaders to shape the character of urban areas
Spatial Settings	Elements fixed, semi-fixed, non-fixed	Provide space identities in each node in the urban area.

Source: Author Analysis 2019

## CONCLUSION

1. The development of the Klungkung city area is seen from the history and space of the local culture. If viewed from its development since the establishment of the kingdom, resistance to colonialism, the transfer of the royal capital to the era of independence, the Klungkung region which is now the capital of samarapura has an important and very central role and has a historical heritage as follows: Bali. The role and function of the market that has existed since the kingdom era, its existence still exists and has developed until now. The trade center also developed into the main road and its surroundings with the development of a commercialization function. Conservation areas and relics of Klungkung buildings, namely, Puri Klungkung, Kertha gosa, struggle monuments, and gel area. In the development of increasingly rapid urban areas, a strategy is needed to build and develop cities while building their identities. It not only makes buildings to the regional level but creates conditions where there is harmony in each element. The most important thing to note is how to utilize the potential, architectural character, climate, and local culture that are used as the basis for planning and designing urban areas with identities.
2. There are several concepts of Bali Space Elements which are touches of identity for urban areas, namely the history of traditions and beliefs, a system of values, art and cultural, spatial planning that includes permanent, semi-permanent and non-permanent elements in development. With increasingly rapid urban areas, strategies and identities are needed to build and develop cities while building development ideas.
  - Symbolic elements of cultural space in the implementation of historical traditions Provide the main direction orientation to the center of urban areas
  - Elements of functional, cultural space in the implementation of value systems govern Segmentation based on zones and functions of urban areas
  - The emotional element of cultural space in applying trust provides harmony and harmonization of urban communities to deities, other communities, and the surrounding environment
  - Elements of cultural space in the implementation of art provide historical characteristics of people's habits from the past that are maintained
  - Establish cultural space elements in the implementation of fixed, semi-fix, and nonfiksation elements that provide space identity for each node in urban urban areas.

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# Juxta-Positioning the Effectiveness of the Common Law and Council Regulation (EC) No. 44/2001 (the Regulation) on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Judgments in the United Kingdom (UK)

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## Abstract

Under the principle of territorial sovereignty, a judgment delivered in one country cannot be enforced in another country, unless there is an international agreement to that effect. The common law, under some specified circumstances, permits the enforcement of foreign judgments within certain parameters. Under the doctrine of obligation, where a foreign court of competent jurisdiction has adjudicated that a sum of money is due from one person to another, the liability to pay that sum becomes a legal obligation that may be enforced in the UK by an action of debt, thus *Russell v Smith*. The doctrine of obligation came under intense criticism due to the fact that it failed to reveal the policy considerations underpinning the rules on recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments in the UK. The *Brussels I Regulation* on jurisdiction and the recognition and enforcement of judgments in civil and commercial matters was introduced as a result of the shortfalls of the common law. In light of the above, this study was undertaken, in order to unearth the effectiveness or otherwise of the enforcement of foreign judgments under the common law, the *Administration of Justice Act 1920*, and the *Brussels I Regulation (the Regulation)* in the UK. The paper argues that enforcement under the *Regulation* is less complicated and accords the claimant much wider options of instituting enforcement proceedings in an enhanced forum (all Contracting State parties) than the common law and the *Administration of Justice Act 1920*.

**Keywords:** Common Law, Enforcement, Foreign Judgments, Jurisdiction, Fraud, Defences, Arbitration, European Convention on Human Rights, Administration of Justice Act 1920, Civil Jurisdiction and Judgments Act 1982, Brussels I Regulation.

## 1.0. Introduction

Complex questions in International Law do arise in instances of unsatisfied foreign judgments. In circumstances where a claimant is unsuccessful in obtaining satisfaction for a judgment in the country where the said judgment was secured, the logical question that follows is whether the said judgment can be enforced in another country where the defendant is found. On proof of the judgment, the burden shifts to the defendant to show why he should

not pay the debt. It was held in *Schibsby v Westenholz*,<sup>1</sup> that: "The judgment of a court of competent jurisdiction over the defendant imposes a duty or obligation on him to pay the sum for which judgment is given, which the courts in this country are bound to enforce." In *Grant v Easton*,<sup>2</sup> Lord Esher stated that: "The liability of the defendant arises upon an implied contract to pay the amount of the foreign judgment."

A judgment is worthless if it cannot be enforced. As a result of this long-established doctrine, this paper, in its attempt to undertake a comprehensive examination of the effectiveness of the common law and the *Regulation* on the recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments in civil and commercial matters in the UK, adopted the black-letter approach to doctrinal research in order to demystify the mystery surrounding the enforcement of foreign judgments in civil and commercial matters in the UK under the common law, the *Administration of Justice Act 1920* and the *Regulation*.

This study will contribute to the already existing body of knowledge in this subject area, and submit those enforcement proceedings under the *Regulation*, appears to be a much better option than enforcement under the common law and the *Administration of Justice Act 1920*.

Section 1 consists of the introduction and analysis of the enforcement of foreign judgments in the UK under the common law and proceeds to discuss what constitutes submission to the jurisdiction of a foreign court. The legal effect of an arbitration clause and the various defences open to the defendant are also taken care of in this section. Section 2 is devoted to an examination of the Enforcement of Foreign Judgments under the *Administration of Justice Act 1920 (AJA)*, and the various defences. Section 3 focuses on the enforcement of contracting parties' judgments in the English courts under the *Regulation* and its accompanying defences, and this is followed by a conclusion.

### **1.1. Enforcement of Foreign Judgments in the UK under the Common Law**

Judgments obtained in non-Contracting States (countries that are not parties to the *Regulation*), for example, the United States of America (USA) maybe enforced in the UK through the common law, provided that: It is for a debt or definite sum of money, not a judgment for taxes or penalties, and it is final and conclusive, in that, the foreign judgment does not create a valid cause of action in England unless it is *res judicata* by the law of the country where it was given and must have determined all the controversies between the parties (Fawcett, Carruthers & North 2008, p. 536).

At common law, a foreign judgment may be final and conclusive even though it is subject to an appeal and an appeal is actually pending in the foreign court where it was given (*Scott v Pilkington*).<sup>3</sup>

In addition, under the common law, a foreign judgment is not automatically enforceable, in that, fresh proceedings should be brought before the English courts. Buckley LJ in *Emanuel v Symon*,<sup>4</sup> laid down the test for the enforcement of foreign judgments in the UK. The Judge stated that, in actions in *personam*, there are five cases in which the courts of the UK will enforce a foreign judgment: (a) where the defendant is a subject of the foreign country in which the judgment has been obtained; (b) where he was resident in the foreign country when the action began; (c) where the defendant in the character of plaintiff has selected the forum in which he is afterwards sued; (d) where he has voluntarily appeared and; (e) where he has contracted to submit himself to the forum in which the judgment is obtained.

Does a defendant's appearance in a foreign court to contest its jurisdiction amount to a submission to the jurisdiction of that court? The answer lies in s. 33 (1) of the *Civil Jurisdiction and Judgments Act 1982 (CJJA)*,

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<sup>1</sup> [1870] LR 6 QB 155 at 159

<sup>2</sup> [1883] 13 QBD 302 at 303

<sup>3</sup> [1862] 2 B. & S. 11

<sup>4</sup> [1908] 1 KB 308

where it is provided that: "For the purposes of determining whether a judgment given by a court of an overseas country should be recognised or enforced in England and Wales or Northern Ireland, the person against whom the judgment was given shall not be regarded as having submitted to the jurisdiction of the court by reason only of the fact that he has appeared (conditionally or otherwise) in the proceedings for all or any one or more of the following purposes, namely – to contest the jurisdiction of the court..."

Therefore, a defendant's conditional appearance in a foreign court does not amount to submission to the jurisdiction of that court.

By virtue of *CJJA 1982* s. 32, if a claimant sues in a foreign country on a contract which contains a provision that the courts of some other country shall have exclusive jurisdiction, the ensuing judgment shall normally be refused recognition or enforcement in England.

In *Tracom SA v Sudan Oil Seeds*,<sup>5</sup> the parties concluded a contract which contained a clause referring to any dispute which might arise to arbitration in England. The claimant sued the defendant for breach of contract in Switzerland. The defendant appeared to contest the jurisdiction of the Swiss court but took no further part in the proceedings. The Swiss court went on to conclude that the arbitration clause was of no effect and handed down a judgment ordering the defendant to pay damages. When the claimant started enforcement proceedings in England, the defendant relied on *CJJA 1982* s. 32.

The Court of Appeal refused to enforce the judgment, notwithstanding the fact that the Swiss court had decided that the arbitration clause was of no effect. The defendant was, therefore, able to rely on the arbitration clause as a defence to the Swiss judgment (Clarkson & Hill 2006, pp. 154-155).

## **1.2. Defences under the Common Law against the Enforcement of Foreign Judgments in England and Wales**

A number of defences are available at common law to defendants to resist the enforcement of foreign judgments in England and Wales. Before proceeding, it is important to state that as a general rule, it is not possible to raise at the recognition or enforcement stages, defences which were raised, or could have been raised in the foreign proceedings.

It is not a defence when it comes to the recognition and enforcement of foreign judgments in England that the judgment was wrong on the merits, thus whether on the facts or the law. It is even immaterial that the foreign court misapplied English law in reaching its decision (*Goddard v Gray*).<sup>6</sup> The first defence to consider is a breach of a jurisdiction agreement.

### **Breach of Jurisdiction Agreement**

The *Civil Jurisdictions and Judgment Act 1982 (CJJA)* s. 32 provides that:

(1) Subject to the following provisions of this section, a judgment given by a court of an overseas country in any proceedings shall not be recognised or enforced in the United Kingdom (UK) if:

(a) The bringing of those proceedings in that court was contrary to an agreement under which the dispute in question was to be settled otherwise than by proceedings in the courts of that country; and those proceedings were not brought in that court by, or with the agreement of the person against whom the judgment was given, and that person did not counterclaim in the proceedings or otherwise submit to the jurisdiction of the court..."

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<sup>5</sup> [1983] 1 WLR 662

<sup>6</sup> [1870] LR 6 QB 139

(2) Subsection (1) does not apply where the agreement referred to in paragraph (a) of that subsection was illegal, void or unenforceable or was incapable of being performed for reasons not attributable to the fault of the party bringing the proceedings in which the judgment was given.

(3) ... a court in the UK shall not be bound by any decision of the overseas court relating to any of the matters mentioned in subsections (1) and (2).

If there is no evidence to suggest that the agreement between the parties was illegal, void or unenforceable or was incapable of being performed for reasons not attributable to the fault of the claimant in the foreign proceedings, the defendant at common law, can resist the enforcement of the foreign judgment successfully in the English courts.

### **Lack of Jurisdiction**

A second defence under the common law is lack of jurisdiction on the part of the foreign court that gave the judgment. A foreign court may give a judgment which, according to the system of law under which it sits, is conclusively binding on the defendant, but unless the circumstances are such as in the eyes of English law to justify the court in having assumed jurisdiction, the judgment does not create a cause of action that is actionable in England (*Sirdar Gurdyal Singh v Faridkote*).<sup>7</sup>

### **The Common Law Defence of Fraud**

In addition, the common law defence of fraud is available to the defendant. Fraud is often divided broadly into 2 categories:

*Fraud on the merits*: That the judgment was obtained by the presentation of evidence which the other party knew to be false; or that the litigant was deprived of the opportunity to take part in the proceedings through tricks or threats; or

*Fraud on the court*: That the court accepted a bribe.

By way of exception to the general principle discussed earlier, the defendant is normally entitled to raise fraud even if the allegation of fraud was considered and rejected by the foreign court, or could have been raised before the foreign court but was not, thus *Abouloff v Oppenheimer*.<sup>8</sup>

In *Jet Holdings Inc. v Patel*,<sup>9</sup> Staughton LJ stated that: "Where the objection is based on jurisdiction ... it is to my mind plain that the foreign court's decision on its own jurisdiction is neither conclusive nor relevant. If the foreign court has no jurisdiction in the eyes of English law, any conclusion it may have reached as to its own jurisdiction is of no value. To put it bluntly if not vulgarly, the foreign court cannot haul itself up by its own bootstraps. Logically the same reasoning must apply where enforcement is resisted on the ground of fraud ... If the rule is that a foreign judgment obtained by fraud is not enforceable, it cannot matter that in the view of the foreign court, there was no fraud".

Furthermore, in *Owens Bank Ltd v Bracco*,<sup>10</sup> Lord Bridge made the statement that: "I recognise that as a matter of policy, there may be a very strong case to be made in the 1990s in favour of according overseas judgments, the same finality as the courts' accord to English judgments. But enforcement of overseas judgments is now primarily governed by the statutory codes of 1920 and 1933. Since these cannot be altered except by further legislation, it seems to me out of the question to alter the common law rule by overruling *Abouloff* ... To do so, would produce the absurd result that an overseas judgment creditor, denied statutory enforcement on the grounds that he had

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<sup>7</sup> [1894] AC 670

<sup>8</sup> [1882] 10 QBD 295

<sup>9</sup> [1990] 1 QB 335

<sup>10</sup> [1994] 2 WLR 759

obtained the judgment by fraud, could succeed in a common law action to enforce his judgment because the evidence on which the judgement debtor relied on did not satisfy the English rule. Accordingly, the whole field is effectively now governed by statute and, if the law is now in need of reform, it is for the legislature, not the judiciary, to effect it” (<https://swarb.co.uk/owens-bank-ltd-v-bracco-and-another-no2-hl-17-jun-1992> 16/01/19)

### **Breach of Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)**

A foreign judgment obtained in breach of Article 6 of the ECHR is a defence in the English courts when it comes to the enforcement of such judgments. In *Al-Bassam v Al-Bassam*,<sup>11</sup> the Court of Appeal held that a foreign judgment granted in circumstances where a fair trial had been denied abroad, would not be recognised.

### **Defence of Public Policy**

A judgment will not be enforced if it is contrary to or inconsistent with English public policy. Therefore, “...an English court will refuse to apply a law which outrages its sense of justice or decency” (*In the Estate of Fuld (No 3)*).<sup>12</sup>

## **2.0. Enforcement of Foreign Judgments under the Administration of Justice Act 1920**

### **2.1. Enforcement Mechanism under the *Administration of Justice Act 1920 (AJA)***

The *Administration of Justice Act 1920 (AJA)* may be relied upon by claimants to enforce foreign judgments in the English courts. This statute introduced the principle of registration of foreign judgments prior to its enforcement.

The *AJA 1920* applies to the enforcement of many judgments of superior courts of countries which are, or were part of the Commonwealth. Where a judgment creditor has obtained a judgment in a recognised ‘superior court’ under which a specific sum of money is payable, he may make an application to the UK High Court at any time within 12 months from the judgment, to register it.

Under *AJA 1920* s. 9 (2), the requirements for registration are that: the original court must have acted within its jurisdiction, and must have jurisdiction; and the judgment must not have been obtained by fraud or be inconsistent with, or contrary to English public policy.

If the court thinks it ‘just and convenient’ that the judgment should be enforced in England and Wales, it may order the judgment to be registered (*AJA 1920* s. 9 (1)). An order for registration is granted entirely at the court’s discretion.

### **2.2. Defences to Enforcement under the *Administration of Justice Act 1920 (AJA)***

Registration of a foreign judgment under *AJA 1920*, may be refused in instances where: the original court lacked jurisdiction. Registration could also be refused if the judgment was obtained by fraud (the test being the same as that at common law and under the *AJA 1920* discussed earlier) or where enforcement of the judgment would be contrary to English public policy.

## **3.0. Enforcement of Contracting Parties’ Judgments in the English Courts under the *Regulation***

A judgment was given in a Member State (EU), falls under the *Regulation’s* regime for the enforcement of judgments, and all such judgments are recognised in England without any special procedure being required as per

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<sup>11</sup> [2004] EWCA Civ 857

<sup>12</sup> [1968] P 675

the provisions of *Article 33 (1)* of the *Regulation*. The rules on jurisdiction and recognition and enforcement, clearly provide that they do not apply to proceedings, or issues arising in proceedings, in the Member States concerning the recognition and enforcement of judgments given in non-Member States, thus *Owens Bank Ltd v Bracco (No. 2)*.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, Article 38 of the *Regulation* provide that: "A judgment was given in a Member State, and enforceable in that State shall be enforced in another Member State when, on the application of any interested party, it has been declared enforceable there."

An appeal against enforcement can be founded under *Article 43 (1)* of the *Regulation*. However, the scope to refuse enforcement under the *Regulation* is very narrow.

There is an implicit acknowledgement by the European Court of Justice (ECJ) in *De Wolf v Cox*<sup>14</sup> that no other mode of enforcement such as an action on the judgment at common law is available to the claimant (McClellan & Beevers 2009, p. 162).

### 3.1. Defences to Recognition and Enforcement under the Regulation

The *Regulation* states that a judgment *shall not* be recognised if it falls within Article 27. This is where recognition is contrary to public policy in the State in which recognition is sought (offending core principles of justice or morality in the national legal system).

Secondly, a judgment would not be recognised, if it was given in default of appearance, or the judgment conflicts with a judgment in a dispute between the same parties in the State in which recognition is sought, or is irreconcilable with an earlier judgment in a non-Contracting State between the same parties involving the same cause of action (that judgment must be within the 'spirit' of the *Regulation*); or the court giving judgment lacked jurisdiction as the case fell within special or exclusive jurisdiction provisions (<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1982/27/schedule/3C/2009-04-06/data.xht?view=snippet&wrap=true> accessed 16/01/2019).

### 3.2. Discussion

In order to determine whether a Member State's court judgment is entitled for recognition under Chapter III per the provisions of Article 34 (4), the English court must first consider the effect of an earlier judgment of a non-Contracting State's court on the matter, if any, requiring enforcement in England under the common law. If both judgments satisfy the conditions for recognition and enforcement under the relevant regime, the English court must give priority to the earlier judgment delivered by the non-Contracting State. Suffice is to say that, if the non-Contracting State court's judgment fails to satisfy the conditions for recognition and enforcement under all three relevant regimes discussed above, the English courts will have no alternative other than to recognise and enforce a Contracting State's court judgment.

In addition, if the relevant court is entitled under the *Regulation* to assume jurisdiction, it must do so in the absence of proceedings taking place in another Contracting State in the same or related matter. A court becomes seised of an action when the case is 'definitively' pending before it. This is to be determined in accordance with the national law of the courts concerned so that procedural differences may be an important factor in winning a 'forum race.'

In three separate judgments in respect of the enforcement of Contracting States courts judgments in England, the Court of Appeal considered various orders which might be made after final judgments on the merits had been given against a defendant to assist the judgment creditor in enforcing that judgment. It held that where the court had exercised jurisdiction on the merits of the claim over a defendant domiciled in another Member State, the

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<sup>13</sup> Case C-129/92

<sup>14</sup> [1976] E.C.R. 1759

jurisdictional rules of the *Regulation* were no obstacle to ordering the judgment-debtor to refrain from bringing proceedings in the courts of a non-Member State designed to frustrate the enforcement of the judgment (Dicey, Morris & Collins 2008, p. 86), thus *Masri v Consolidated Contractors International Co SAL*.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.3. Conclusion

In conclusion, enforcing a foreign judgment in the English courts under the common law, appear not to be helpful. This is arrived at on the basis that a foreign judgment may be held by the English courts to be final and conclusive even though it is subject to an appeal and an appeal is actually pending in the foreign court where the judgment was given.

Secondly, the fact that the enforcement action must be in respect of a debt or definite sum of money, not a judgment for taxes or penalties, and it is final and conclusive, appear unhelpful. Per this common law provision, States cannot bring enforcement actions against their citizens who evade taxes and abscond to the UK. Furthermore, the common law provision that a foreign judgment is not automatically enforceable, unless fresh proceedings are brought before the English courts, appear to be burdensome.

The *Administration of Justice Act 1920*, is very restrictive, in that, it is only applicable to the enforcement of many judgments of superior courts of countries which are, or were part of the Commonwealth. The requirement that the action must be for a specific sum of money and an application made within 12 months to the UK High Court for registration after the delivery of the judgment in the foreign forum, and the fact that the Court has the discretion to deny registration if it deems it "just and convenient", together constitute a hindrance to the smooth and successful enforcement of foreign judgments in the UK under this statute.

In contrast to the above common law and *AJA 1920* difficulties in enforcing foreign judgments in the UK, enforcement under the *Regulation*, looks less complicated. Enforcement in the English courts comes without any special procedure being required. This is as a result of the provisions of *Article 33 (1)* of the *Regulation*.

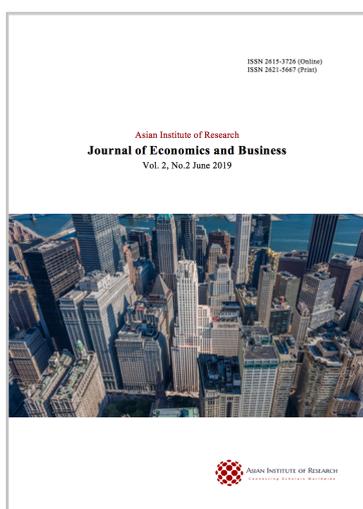
Even though the *Regulation* is applicable only in Contracting State parties (limited area of applicability), this does not in any way make it ineffective.

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<sup>15</sup> [2008] EWCA Civ 625



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# Analyzing the Impact of Climatic and Economic Variables on Tourism Demand Fluctuation in Japan

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## Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze the influence of climatic and economic variables on seasonal tourism demand variations in Japan's major western areas. Seasonal tourism fluctuations can present a serious problem, since the profit and daily administration of stakeholders, as well as tourism policy design, are affected. Considering these aspects, this study investigated the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism demand fluctuations in typical tourist destinations in western Japan. GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimations, based on two models, are implemented in an empirical study. The estimated parameters of the first model imply that rainfall is a negative factor in Kyoto's tourism, while temperature and price levels are positive elements. In spite of the presence of these positive factors in Hiroshima, we could not determine the effects of rainfall and vitalization of the regional economy on tourism in this area. In Naha, temperature, price level, and vitalization of the regional economy may increase the number of visitors. The second model's estimates for Kyoto imply that temperature, sunshine duration, and price level are positive influences. For Osaka, Fukuoka, and Hiroshima, we find that sunshine duration, and price level are positive factors. In Hiroshima, temperature is an additional positive factor, while the effects of vitalization of the regional economy cannot be determined. For Naha, temperature, price level, and vitalization of regional economy may increase the number of visitors, but no significant implication can be drawn about the effect of sunshine duration.

**Keywords:** Tourism Demand, Climatic Variable, Seasonal Fluctuation

## 1. Introduction

This study examines the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism demand fluctuations and seasonality in western Japan's typical tourism destinations. Seasonal tourism fluctuation can be a serious problem since it has a certain influence on the profit and daily administration of stakeholders and tourism policy design.

The Gini coefficient is applied mainly to represent the state of the income distribution in economic context to the present. However, the Gini coefficient is often used for analyzing tourism fluctuation. Table 1 shows the estimated Gini coefficients from the year 2008 to 2016 for the selected five prefectures in the western part of Japan - Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa – to examine seasonal variations in tourism demand by using the data on approximate monthly total number of overnight guests (accommodation facilities with 10 or more employees). Regarding the estimated Gini coefficient, the following points can be considered. First, the seasonal fluctuations expressed by the Gini coefficient are smaller for Osaka and Fukuoka and relatively larger for Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Okinawa. Second, seasonal fluctuation varies by prefecture, but the Gini coefficients for each area generally

seem to be declined after the year 2013. We can find these trends more concretely by Figure 1, which describes the graphs of the Gini coefficients shown in Table 1.<sup>1</sup>

Considering these aspects, this study investigated the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism demand fluctuations in typical tourist destinations in western Japan. GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimations, based on two models, are implemented to investigate this problem, considering measurement error and the endogeneity of the variables as well as the correlation between the explanatory variables and the error term.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a review of previous studies on the seasonal variation of tourism. The estimation method is described in Section 3, and Section 4 outlines an empirical analysis to investigate the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism demand fluctuation in the typical tourist destinations in western Japan by applying GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimation. Finally, Section 5 summarizes and concludes the study.

Table 1: Gini Coefficients for Overnight Guests

area \ year	Kyoto	Osaka	Hiroshima	Fukuoka	Okinawa
2008	0.08718	0.04656	0.07977	0.05118	0.08268
2009	0.09694	0.07152	0.08452	0.05830	0.07409
2010	0.08265	0.04905	0.07693	0.05095	0.08462
2011	0.10250	0.06649	0.08737	0.04654	0.09542
2012	0.08890	0.05619	0.07594	0.04912	0.08899
2013	0.08405	0.05473	0.08573	0.05543	0.08379
2014	0.06866	0.05329	0.07794	0.05486	0.09241
2015	0.07250	0.04944	0.07141	0.05249	0.06352
2016	0.05619	0.04076	0.06826	0.02515	0.06574
2017	0.05693	0.03272	0.06675	0.03673	0.06399

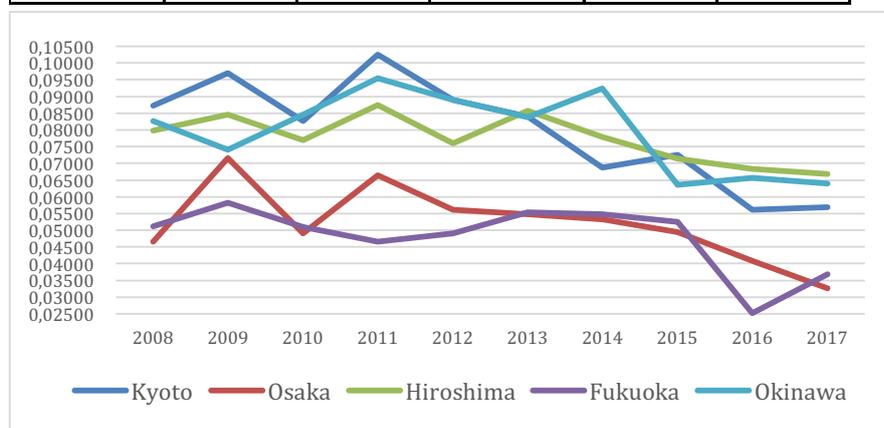


Figure 1: Gini Coefficients for Overnight Guests

## 2. Seasonality in Tourism: A Review

Previous studies on seasonal tourism variations mainly describe the technical aspects that are required to accurately comprehend seasonality for tourism demand prediction and to provide policy perspectives. Lundtorp (2001) provides a comprehensive explanation of seasonal tourism variation, and mentions the role of the supply chain and the continuity of transportation in seasonal variations of tourists' destination selections. Butler (2001) reviews the

<sup>1</sup> The data on "approximate total number of overnight guests (accommodation facilities with 10 or more employees)" for making Table 1 (and Figure 1) can be retrieved from the website of the Japan Tourism Agency, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism (<http://www.mlit.go.jp/kankocho/siryou/toukei/shukuhakutoukei.html>).

causes and effects of seasonal variations in tourism by pointing out the practical difficulties with regard to measures to mitigate variations. Lundtorp (2001) discusses some approaches to understanding seasonal tourism demand variations, including the use of the seasonal variation index and the Gini coefficient to reflect the size of the annual seasonal variation. To minimize the effects of seasonal variations on tourism, some researchers - including Kulendran and King (1997), Lim and McAleer (2001), and Goh and Law (2002) - estimate tourism demand precisely. By contrast, Koc and Altinay (2007) analyzes the Turkish seasonal tourism variation patterns by taking advantage of the X-12-ARIMA model, and outlines different patterns of visitors, tourism expenditures, and tourism expenditure seasonality.

Nadal *et al.* (2004) consider the relationship between the Gini index and economic variables such as GDP in assessing UK and German tourists who visit the Balearic Islands. They show that an increase in the UK or Germany's GDP, and a rise in the relative price between these two countries and the Balearic Islands, would decrease the Gini index. They also find that economic conditions such as income and relative price, are decisive factors in determining the number of visitors based on gravity theory.

The seasonal tourism fluctuation further depends on the characteristics of the destination. Visitors to nature-oriented destinations such as national parks are more influenced by climatic conditions than those who visit culture-oriented destinations. Morales (2003) analyzes the seasonality of three tourism destinations in Spain (Malaga, Granada, and Armenia), and emphasized the effect of culture-oriented policies such as the construction of an art museum in decreasing the Gini index. Morales (2003) also finds that attractions such as cultural exhibitions and theater performances are unrelated to tourism seasonality. Cuccia and Rizzo (2011) classify six Sicilian destinations (in Italy) into four clusters according to their cultural attractiveness, showing that seasonality depends on the variety of cultural attractions.

Tourism demand seasonality is rather a supply-side issue; its impact affects tourism management. Decision-making by the managers of accommodation facilities, catering services, attractions, and tour operators is based on investment and fund management, and aims to realize flexible employment, tourism, and a differentiation strategy. In this respect, a policy to mitigate seasonal variation is necessary for stable and profitable management (Lee *et al.* (2008)). However, because some causes of tourism seasonality, which are related to natural- and socio-economic factors, do not correspond with each other, various strategies and individual evaluations should be determined. On the other hand, Kulendran and Dwyer (2010; 2012) focus on economic factors, in addition to climatic elements, when considering the influence of seasonal fluctuations on tourism demand.

### 3. Method

This section describes the method used in our empirical analysis of the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism for the selected five prefectures in the western part of Japan - Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa. The sample period of estimation (monthly basis) is 2008:M1 (January) to 2017:M12 (December). Our dataset is composed of the following variables.<sup>2</sup>

*V*: approximate total number of overnight guests (accommodation facilities with 10 or more employees); prefectural data (Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Okinawa), monthly, final figures (Transition Table in Table 4-2, result of the survey "Overnight Travel Statistics," January to December 2017, final report, the Japan Tourism Agency, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism ).

*R*: amounts of rainfall (mm) at observation sites (in the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Naha (in the Okinawa prefecture)), monthly, issued by the Japan Meteorological Agency.

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<sup>2</sup> The data on "approximate total number of overnight guests" can be retrieved from the website of the Japan Tourism Agency, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism (<http://www.mlit.zgo.jp/kankocho/siryoutoukei/shukuhakutoukei.html>). The "amounts of rainfall," "average air temperature," and "total sunshine duration" were obtained from the Japan Meteorological Agency's website (<https://www.data.jma.go.jp/gmd/risk/obsdl/index.php#>). The "consumer price index" is available from the "e-stat" website (<https://www.e-stat.go.jp/dbview?sid=0003143513>). The data on "Indices of Industrial Production (prefectural data)" can be retrieved from the website of the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (<http://www.meti.go.jp/statistics/tyo/iip/chiiki/index.html>).

- T*: average air temperature (°C) at observation sites (in the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Naha (in the Okinawa prefecture)), monthly, issued by the Japan Meteorological Agency.
- S*: total sunshine duration (hours) at observation sites (in the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Naha (in the Okinawa prefecture)), monthly, issued by the Japan Meteorological Agency.
- P*: consumer price index, prefectural data (Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa), monthly, original index, all items, base year = 2015, issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.
- I*: indices of industrial production, prefectural data (Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa), monthly, original index, manufacturing (Item Number: 2A00000000) (Kyoto and Osaka), mining and manufacturing (Item Number: 2000000000) (Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Okinawa), base year = 2010, issued by each prefectural government office and the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry.

“*V*” is the proxy variable for tourism demand and “*I*” is the proxy variable for the level of vitalization of the regional economy. In addition, our empirical analysis focuses on western Japan, namely, on the cities of Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Naha (in the Okinawa prefecture). The climatic variables, *R*, *T*, and *S* were observed at the observation sites of the Japan Meteorological Agency in each area or city. In short, they represent a city-level or town-level data set. By contrast, the economic variables, *V*, *P*, and *I* reflect the prefectural data that were observed by several governmental offices. In this study, the prefectural data are regarded as proxy variables for city- or town-level data in conducting the empirical research based on the regional tourism.

For our empirical study, we implemented a GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimation by considering the measurement error and endogeneity of the variables, in addition to the correlation between the explanatory variables and the error term. Our GMM estimation was conducted with the assumption that the consumer price index for each area is endogenous, and with the Newey-West HAC (heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation consistent) weighting matrix to accommodate the possibility of serial correlation and heteroscedasticity.

Concretely, our estimations were conducted by the following two types of specification (“*ln*” means the natural logarithm):

<Model (1)>

$$\ln V_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \ln R_t + \alpha_2 \ln T_t + \alpha_3 \ln P_t + \alpha_4 \ln I_t + e_t,$$

<Model (2)>

$$\ln V_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \ln T_t + \alpha_2 \ln S_t + \alpha_3 \ln P_t + \alpha_4 \ln I_t + e_t.$$

Instrument specifications regarding these two estimations are provided in the notes of Tables 6 and 7.

#### 4. Empirical Results

We implemented a GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimation for Model (1) and Model (2), under the conditions and assumptions described in the former section. Further details regarding this estimation are provided in the notes of Tables 6 and 7. Since we should take a critical stance toward this type of estimation, Hansen’s test for over-identification, the endogeneity test for variables, and the test for weak instrument variables utilizing Cragg-Donald statistic and Stock-Yogo critical values, were conducted.

The results of the endogeneity tests (Wu - Hausman test) for the variables in Models (1) and (2) of our estimations - *ln(P)*, price level - for our areas of research interest are shown in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. The null hypotheses of exogeneity can be rejected at the conventional level by the test statistics for the case of Naha (in Okinawa prefecture) alone. This result means that our estimation Models (1) and (2) do not always fit well for the areas of interest, except for Naha, in terms of setting the endogenous variable. However, the main purpose of this research is to analyze the influence of climatic and economic variables on seasonal tourism variation as a type of spatial movement in several Japanese areas. Thus, we were obliged to proceed with the investigation, with careful attention to the possibility of an incomplete estimation model.

Further, to investigate the weak identification problem pointed out by some studies (including Mavroeidis (2004)), we use the Cragg and Donald (1993) statistic and the Stock and Yogo (2005) critical values.<sup>3</sup> In Table 4, the Cragg-Donald F-statistics of the five areas under consideration in Model (1) are apparently larger than the Stock-Yogo critical values for both relative bias and size. Thus, the null hypothesis of weak identification is rejected for each area. In addition, we can obtain the same result for Model (2) by considering Table 5. Therefore, the test results imply that the sets of instrumental variables for our two estimation models are valid.

Table 6 reports the GMM estimation results for the five areas under consideration, namely, Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Naha (in Okinawa), with respect to Model (1). Considering Hansen's diagnostic test, the null hypotheses of over-identification for the GMM estimation cannot be rejected, thus supporting the validity of the moment conditions, as shown by the J-statistic and the p-value in the table.

With regard to the estimated parameters of Model (1) for Kyoto, the coefficient of  $R$  is barely significant at the 10% level, with our expected sign. The coefficient of  $T$  is significant at the 1% level, and the coefficient of  $P$  is also significant, but the level of significance is 10%. The signs of  $T$  and  $P$  are controversial. By contrast,  $I$  is apparently insignificant. This result implies that rainfall is a negative factor for tourism in Kyoto, although temperature and price level are positive elements. As for Osaka and Fukuoka, only the coefficient of  $P$  is significant. In this respect, the estimation results for Osaka and Fukuoka do not have any positive implications. The estimated parameters of  $T$  and  $P$  for Hiroshima are significant at the 1% level. Thus, temperature and price level are positive factors. However, we cannot determine the effects of rainfall and vitalization of the regional economy on tourism of Hiroshima. By contrast, Naha's coefficients on  $T$ ,  $P$ , and  $I$  are sufficiently significant at the 1% level, but  $R$  is not significant at the conventional level. Therefore, temperature, price level, and vitalization of the regional economy may enlarge the number of visitors to Naha (in the Okinawa Prefecture), although nothing can be concluded with respect to the effect of rainfall.

Table 2: Endogeneity Test for Model (1)

Test instruments	Difference in J-statistics			Restricted	Unrestricted
	Value	d.f.	p-value	J-statistic	J-statistic
$\ln(P)$ for KYOTO	0.001137	1	0.9731	3.622982	3.621845
$\ln(P)$ for OSAKA	2.280432	1	0.1310	7.627244	5.346813
$\ln(P)$ for HIROSHIMA	0.069769	1	0.7917	5.814584	5.744814
$\ln(P)$ for FUKUOKA	0.688497	1	0.4067	4.253648	3.565151
$\ln(P)$ for NAHA	5.850323	1	0.0156	9.141542	3.291219

Table 3: Endogeneity Test for Model (2)

Test instruments	Difference in J-statistics			Restricted	Unrestricted
	Value	d.f.	p-value	J-statistic	J-statistic
$\ln(P)$ for KYOTO	0.002659	1	0.9589	3.599661	3.597002
$\ln(P)$ for OSAKA	0.368527	1	0.5438	1.931043	1.562516
$\ln(P)$ for HIROSHIMA	0.436444	1	0.5088	3.280394	2.843951
$\ln(P)$ for FUKUOKA	0.996301	1	0.3182	4.797472	3.801172
$\ln(P)$ for NAHA	3.100485	1	0.0783	5.488646	2.388161

Table 4: Weak Instrument Diagnostics for Model (1)

	Kyoto	Osaka	Hiroshima	Fukuoka	Okinawa
Cragg-Donald F-stat	387.4917	621.9983	550.7365	644.6691	561.6538
Stock-Yogo TSLs critical values (relative bias)					
5%			18.37		
10%			10.83		
20%			6.77		
30%			5.25		

<sup>3</sup> See Cragg and Donald (1993), Stock, Wright, and Yogo (2002), and Stock and Yogo (2002) for details.

Stock-Yogo critical values (size)	
10%	26.87
15%	15.09
20%	10.98
25%	8.84

Table 5: Weak Instrument Diagnostics for Model (2)

	Kyoto	Osaka	Hiroshima	Fukuoka	Okinawa
Cragg-Donald F-stat	522.1223	798.7839	676.8538	782.9972	745.3656
Stock-Yogo TOLS critical values (relative bias)					
5%	16.85				
10%	10.27				
20%	6.71				
30%	5.34				
Stock-Yogo critical values (size)					
10%	24.58				
15%	13.96				
20%	10.26				
25%	8.31				

Table 6: GMM Estimation for Model (1)

Variable	Coefficient for Kyoto	Coefficient for Osaka	Coefficient for Hiroshima	Coefficient for Fukuoka	Coefficient for Naha
Const.	-4.614378	-8.444575	-7.845590	-5.772492	-21.24247
std. error	8.169264	9.051577	4.081459	4.357503	5.173116
t-statistic	-0.564846	-0.932940	-1.922252	-1.324725	-4.106320
prob.	0.5733	0.3528	0.0571	0.1879	0.0001
Ln(R)	-0.053257	-0.012658	-0.007516	0.002632	0.021971
std. error	0.027098	0.017901	0.022304	0.022119	0.014845
t-statistic	-1.965352	-0.707080	-0.336977	0.118984	1.480017
prob.	0.0518	0.4810	0.7368	0.9055	0.1417
ln(T)	0.152832	0.034756	0.176992	0.018060	0.475974
std. error	0.043960	0.053835	0.032241	0.039140	0.113259
t-statistic	3.476623	0.645611	5.489596	0.461434	4.202523
prob.	0.0007	0.5198	0.0000	0.6454	0.0001
ln(P)	3.746781	4.601562	4.685646	4.024557	6.929490
std. error	2.032413	2.020348	1.094210	1.024956	1.165738
t-statistic	1.843513	2.277608	4.282218	3.926567	5.944296
prob.	0.0679	0.0246	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000
ln(I)	0.263452	0.371284	-0.165525	0.232424	0.403180
std. error	0.318585	0.427801	0.307667	0.230923	0.136861
t-statistic	0.826943	0.867890	-0.538000	1.006501	2.945905
prob.	0.4100	0.3873	0.5916	0.3163	0.0039
weight iterations	9	10	13	19	5
s.e. of regression	0.227336	0.222925	0.193476	0.170578	0.167781
instrument rank	9	9	9	9	9
J-statistic	3.619882	4.640390	5.850846	3.752282	2.921277
prob(J-statistic)	0.459886	0.326224	0.210568	0.440568	0.571085

Notes: Instrument specification: Constant,  $\ln R_t$ ,  $\ln R_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln T_t$ ,  $\ln T_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln P_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln P_{t-2}$ ,  $\ln I_t$ ,  $\ln I_{t-1}$ , Sample (adjusted): 2008M03 – 2017M12. Included observations = 118 (after adjustments). Estimation weighting matrix: HAC (Bartlett kernel, Newey-West fixed bandwidth = 5). Standard errors and covariance computed using HAC weighting matrix (Bartlett kernel, Newey-West fixed bandwidth = 5).

Overall, we cannot find any areas in our investigation that correspond entirely to estimation Model (1). However, Model (1) relatively fits with Kyoto and Naha. In addition, it still needs further work to consider the signs of the estimated coefficients on temperature and price level, as well as the causality between these two factors and the number of visitors.

Table 7 reports the estimation result by the GMM method for the five focus areas of Model (2). By considering the J-statistic and the p-value in the table, we can determine that the null hypotheses of over-identification for GMM estimation cannot be rejected by Hansen's test, and that the validity of the moment conditions is supported.

With respect to the parameter estimation based on Model (2) for Kyoto, the coefficients on  $T$ ,  $S$ , and  $P$  are significant at the 5% level, while the one on  $I$  is apparently insignificant. This result implies that temperature, sunshine duration, and price level are positive elements for tourism in Kyoto. As for Osaka and Fukuoka,  $S$ , and

Table 7: GMM Estimation for Model (2)

Variable	Coefficient for Kyoto	Coefficient for Osaka	Coefficient for Hiroshima	Coefficient for Fukuoka	Coefficient for Naha
Const.	-8.624910	-18.10068	-4.741969	-8.051280	-23.17704
std. error	8.583699	7.618994	5.117800	3.762183	5.876944
t-statistic	-1.004801	-2.375731	-0.926564	-2.140055	-3.943723
prob.	0.3171	0.0192	0.3561	0.0345	0.0001
$\ln(T)$	0.105964	0.007213	0.136608	-0.010439	0.422147
std. error	0.044736	0.049997	0.033653	0.045783	0.145409
t-statistic	2.368637	0.144263	4.059334	-0.228022	2.903177
prob.	0.0195	0.8855	0.0001	0.8200	0.0044
$\ln(S)$	0.162462	0.230834	0.138073	0.126638	0.018337
std. error	0.063716	0.070414	0.057348	0.045021	0.046898
t-statistic	2.549775	3.278259	2.407618	2.812844	0.391007
prob.	0.0121	0.0014	0.0177	0.0058	0.6965
$\ln(P)$	4.515104	6.525695	3.699646	4.500800	7.425631
std. error	2.178762	1.786953	1.328033	0.923435	1.301462
t-statistic	2.072326	3.651856	2.785808	4.873977	5.705608
prob.	0.0405	0.0004	0.0063	0.0000	0.0000
$\ln(I)$	0.165876	0.301224	-0.004973	0.137256	0.366916
std. error	0.342871	0.438822	0.350609	0.235586	0.143904
t-statistic	0.483787	0.686439	-0.014183	0.582616	2.549733
prob.	0.6295	0.4938	0.9887	0.5613	0.0121
weight iterations	10	8	8	15	8
s.e. of regression	0.229657	0.221383	0.179335	0.173273	0.168073
instrument rank	8	8	8	8	8
J-statistic	3.574340	1.680483	3.057462	4.087280	2.333840
prob(J-statistic)	0.311248	0.641281	0.382850	0.252192	0.506069

**Notes:** Instrument specification: Constant,  $\ln T_t$ ,  $\ln T_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln S_t$ ,  $\ln S_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln P_{t-1}$ ,  $\ln I_t$ ,  $\ln I_{t-1}$ , Sample (adjusted): 2008:M02 – 2017:M12. Included observations = 119 (after adjustments). Estimation weighting matrix: HAC (Bartlett kernel, Newey-West fixed bandwidth = 5). Standard errors and covariance computed using HAC weighting matrix (Bartlett kernel, Newey-West fixed bandwidth = 5).

$P$  are significant at the 1% level, while the others are not. In this respect, we find that sunshine duration and price level are positive factors for tourism in Osaka and Fukuoka. The coefficients on  $T$  and  $P$  are significant at the 1% level, and that of  $S$  is significant at the 5% level in the case of Hiroshima.  $I$  is insignificant. Thus, temperature, sunshine duration, and price level can be regarded as positive factors for Hiroshima's tourism, although we cannot determine the effects of vitalization of the regional economy. By contrast, the coefficients on  $T$  and  $P$  for Naha are noticeably significant at the 1% level, and the one on  $I$  is significant at the 5% level. However,  $S$  is not significant at the conventional level, and this result might contradict our intuition in general. Thus, temperature, price level,

and vitalization of the regional economy may increase the number of visitors to Naha (in the Okinawa Prefecture), although no significant implication can be drawn about the effect of sunshine duration.

On the whole, Model (2) fits Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Naha relatively well. As for Model (1), we need to consider the signs of the estimated coefficients on temperature and price level, as well as the causality between these two factors and the number of visitors.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

This study investigated the influence of climatic and economic variables on tourism in five areas in western Japan. For our empirical study, the GMM (Generalized Method of Moments) estimations based on two kinds of specifications (Model (1) and Model (2)) were implemented, considering the measurement error and endogeneity of the variables, in addition to the correlation between the explanatory variables and the error term. Our GMM estimations were made under the assumption that the price level is endogenous, and with the Newey-West HAC (heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation consistent) weighting matrix to accommodate the possibility of serial correlation and heteroscedasticity.

The estimated parameters of Model (1) imply that rainfall is a negative factor for Kyoto's tourism, while temperature and price level are positive elements. Positive implications cannot be derived for Osaka and Fukuoka. While temperature and price level are positive factors, we cannot determine the effects of rainfall and vitalization of the regional economy on Hiroshima's tourism. For Naha (in the Okinawa Prefecture), temperature, price level, and vitalization of the regional economy may increase the number of visitors; however, no conclusions can be drawn about the effect of rainfall.

The Model (2) estimations for Kyoto imply that temperature, sunshine duration, and price level are positive tourism elements. By contrast, we find that sunshine duration and price level are positive factors for Osaka and Fukuoka's tourism. With respect to Hiroshima, temperature, sunshine duration, and price level can be regarded as positive factors, although the effects of vitalization of the regional economy cannot be determined. For Naha, temperature, price level, and vitalization of the regional economy may increase the number of visitors; however, nothing can be concluded in terms of the effect of sunshine duration.

Note that we cannot find any areas of investigation that fits the estimation Models (1) and (2) entirely. Further work is required to consider the signs of the estimated coefficients on temperature and price level, as well as the causality between these two factors and the number of visitors.

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